



LOUIS REVEL

# The Fragrance of India

LANDMARKS FOR THE WORLD OF  
TOMORROW

TRANSLATED FROM FRENCH

BY

DORIS POTTER

*O young through all thy immemorial years!  
Rise, Mother, rise, regenerate from thy gloom,  
And, like a bride high-mated with the spheres,  
Beget new glories from thine ageless womb!*

SAROJINI NAIIDU

KITABISTAN

ALLAHABAD









THESE PAGES ARE A HUMBLE OFFERING  
TO THE GREAT RISHIS OF INDIA,  
THOSE WISE MEN WHO LOVED THE PEOPLE,  
LIVED FOR THE PEOPLE,  
AND WHO TAUGHT THE BROTHERHOOD OF PEOPLES.



To  
MY COMPANION—PILGRIMS  
ALONG THE ROADS OF INDIA  
ANDREE REVEL  
AND  
CHRISTIAN J. REVEL



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NOTE—*The photographs were taken by the author and  
C. J. Revel.*





## FOREWORD

This book was written during the year 1938-39, after a stay made in India in 1937. It should have been published in Paris, but...war broke out.

Certain circumstances, related in our book: "Lights and Shadows Over France,"\* brought us once again to India's shores. This volume: "The Fragrance of India—Landmarks for the World of Tomorrow," will therefore see daylight in the very land where it was conceived.

From these pages, we have nothing to substract with regard to its ideas. They are as much actuality now as if they had been written during the tragedy which is today shaking the world to its foundations. We should be able to add many pages to this book on what we have seen and gleaned again while in this country; however, they would make another volume that we may, perhaps, write in the future.

*Tellicherry, Malabar South India*  
*April 1945*

LOUIS REVEL

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\* *Lights and Shadows Over France* (Diary of the Journey of Three French Exiles from Paris to Bombay) by Louis Revel, published by Thacker & Co., Bombay.



## INTRODUCTION

The Soul of the World is in danger. It is a banal truth to write but, nevertheless, it ought to be ceaselessly repeated.

Each passing day sees humanity sliding insensibly towards an abyss of suffering and misery. Each circling year sees the contemporary world becoming more and more an arena where wild beasts—men, our brothers—tear each other to pieces. Soon, a sinister twilight will creep over the earth and the world will be no more than a vast sepulchre in which are entombed humanity's noblest ideals.

In the present world-wide frenzy, there are men who try to dam this tide of hate, discord, struggle, that is precipitating the nations one against the other. These men hope, in spite of all, that—like a solitary traveller who enamoured of beauty, force, grandeur, climbs the paths leading to the summits—contemporary humanity (or, if you prefer, the peoples or a fragment of these peoples) will contemplate from the heights of its inner vision the rich and glorious past of certain civilisations, now disappeared or sleeping, in order that it may establish an immense bridge of communication, a pipe-line, so to say, a triumphal way by means of which the modern world may glean from the past some grains of its immortal values, with which alone can be built up a civilisation on the five intangible rocks of true knowledge, liberty, brotherhood, equality, and love.

Have we not learned history? We are stuffed with history and science. We have learned of the slow rise of peoples, from paleolithic men to the so-called civilised men, who are ourselves. We have, at least, retained the history of *our* civilisation. We have studied the different

social changes which took place in ancient Greece from the Age of the Tyrants until the formation of the Athenian Democracy. We know, equally, from the war of Peloponnesus, how anarchy developed, how little by little the people were impoverished by a rapacious capitalism; then, we also know how, in the heart of the Roman Republic, dictators arose from the discontent of the masses who hoped (O unhappy, naive men!) that these dictator-tyrants would save them from misery. Lastly, we have studied the causes of the fall of the Roman Empire, the eternal causes, namely: economic depression, taxes impossible to support, slavery, the concentration of financial power in the hands of a few, the decrease in births, civil wars or simply wars, luxury, debauchery, the position of woman reduced to the role of servants. . . . briefly, all that we know so well.

We have read all that in our history manuals. 'That is the past, some will say, what has it to do with our modern times? And we come to the strange attitude of regarding history as a dusty museum of antiques which has to be visited—in order to pass our examinations—and which we shall never visit when we reach manhood. History, we think, is for children and young people. We still remember, without doubt, how weary we were, our elbows on our desk, our eyes fixed on the springtime trees growing in the college courtyard, listening with absent-minded ears to the insipid lessons delivered in monotonous tones by the professor. And in our brain were rolling confusedly the words: Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Huns. . . . How beautiful the trees are! we thought. If only we could be outside in the sun!

History lessons! Professor of history! Synonyms for tedium, when history lessons, in spite of M. Valéry, ought to be living lessons, capable of enlightening, of bringing to the rising generations broad, bold conceptions, so that these generations, in their role of men, might make humanity contribute in due measure to sure progress, seeing clearly, on the one hand, that the physical, intellec-

tual, and moral splendour of ancient civilisations, at their apogee, are as many glowing landmarks pointing out the route to be followed by the contemporary world and, on the other hand, that the decline and collapse of these ancient civilisations are warnings of the reefs to be avoided. World history continually shows us that men repeat the same errors because they do not want to learn the profound causes of past faults, nor retain the elements that have contributed in forming epochs of glory. There is a philosophy of history that should be learned. Whether one wishes it or not, the history of humanity is composed of periods of light and shadow. These periods have their source in human nature, in the play of its most hidden forces. To learn the mechanism of these forces is to resolve the destiny of man.

The history of our civilisation is rich in salutary lessons. First, to learn and, above all, to retain—which is more difficult—that the decline of a nation always begins when those who have the most responsibility in a state neglect, or refuse, to listen to the people's voice, the voice of the masses who suffer and beg their inviolable right to happiness.

When we consider the past, we are often seized with admiration for certain historic figures who knew how to lead their nation to altitudes that have never been attained by our modern civilisation. And why? Because these individuals, besides their genius of organisation, had in their hearts what is lacking the most in our modern statesmen: *love for the people*, as well as knowledge of the laws of nature codified in the old, eternal symbols.

The glories of Chaldea, Egypt, Greece, witness to what man in possession of these two gifts can achieve; lacking them, every nation is doomed sooner or later to decay and crumble in anarchy.

Moreover, when we regard the present position of the world, is it not one of the greatest privileges of the traveller, as of the historian, to show, in his modest way, the columns of glory erected in the past by men who were

truly wise, columns of glory marking the triumphal way to true culture and to pure civilisation?

When we seek in the buried centuries for vestiges of these columns of glory, a name, among others, emerges: INDIA.

It is a fact, whether we wish to accept it or not, that India is the Mother of all of us. She has given us everything: religion, philosophy, science, art. All that has been truly great, noble, and generous, throughout the ages, has come from India. Was it not our great Michelet, the historian, who, while seeking for the wisdom of the ages, cried at the commencement of his work, "The Bible of Humanity": "The year 1863 will remain dear and blessed for me". Why? Because he had read India's sacred poem, the *Ramayana*. In what moving terms he then wrote about India. We can but transcribe his burning words:

*"Each year, it is necessary to respire, to take breath again, to revive ourselves at the great living sources that forever keep their eternal freshness. Where can we find them if not at the cradle of our race, on the sacred summits from where descend the Indus and the Ganges, or the torrents of Persia, the rivers of paradise? All is narrow in the West. Greece is little: I stifle. Judea is dry: I pant. Let me turn my eyes for a time to high Asia, towards the profound East. There I have my immense poem, vast as India's sea, blessed, endowed with sun, book of divine harmony where there is nothing discordant, A lovely peace reigns in it and even in the midst of combats an infinite sweetness, a fraternity without limits, which extends to all that lives, an ocean (depthless and shoreless) of love, compassion, clemency. I have found what I sought: the Bible of Goodness. Receive me then, great poem!... Let me plunge into it!... It is an ocean of milk."*

Such was the first and enduring impression made on Michelet by the *Ramayana*.

To these words, we may add the lines of Max Muller:

*"If I had to seek through the entire world for the country endowed with the greatest fortune, power, and beauty that Nature could confer, I should point to India.*

*"If I were asked under which sky the human mind has best developed some of its choicest gifts, has the most deeply meditated on the greatest problems of life and discovered a solution to some of them which merits to arrest the attention even of those who have studied Plato and Kant, I would point to India.*

*"And if I asked myself from what literature we Europeans—we who have been nourished almost exclusively on Greek and Roman thought as well as on that of the Semitic race of the Jews—could obtain the corrective so necessary if we wish to make our interior life more perfect, larger, more universal, in fact, more human, a life not for this life only, but a transfigured and eternal life—once again, I should point to India."*

In our turn, we, as so many pilgrims in the past, decided to go to India, to what was the cradle of all true civilisation.

The aim of these pages is to make all those who are, or who are not, attracted to the East, aware of the real fragrance of India, the fragrance that can pervade the soul for ever. And at the same time to show to those who desire to see them, the unerring landmarks devised by ancient India that can still serve for the edification of the World of Tomorrow, the world to which all peoples are aspiring, ridden of modern tyrants, where there will be some brotherhood and stable happiness.

However, do not mistake me. India is not a country that can be assimilated in a few months. It was necessary to keep within bounds and to choose. Moreover, the goal of our pilgrimage was the temples of South India. We do not pretend to have discovered this country, others have done that long ago. The works of the great oriental-



ists of the West (is it necessary to name Burnouf, Sylvain Levi, Colebrooke, and how many others?) have shown the depth of Hindu thought.

Would it not be interesting, even piquant, to cite those British officials who, at the beginning of last century and even before, contributed to the revival of India, to making her better known beyond her frontiers? Do we not see these envoys of the British Government, the "Civil Servants", deciding for themselves to learn the languages of the country, whether it be Pali, Sanskrit, or any other tongue? Among these officials was Charles Johnson, who later on became an authority on the Sanskrit language and contributed to the translation of the *Bhagavad-Gita* and the *Upanishads*; then, Wilkins, Bradlaugh, Weatherburn, besides others, all contributed to make the brilliance of ancient India known to the world.

Before journeying as thoughtful pilgrims over the routes of India, before penetrating her inner atmosphere, it is worth-while to note that the works of all these orientalists have completely exploded the idea that India is only a land of fakirs, of showmen of tricks, and tiger hunting. Much literature has been written in this sense which could falsify the opinions we might have about this country. We must, on the contrary, consider India's place in the world as eminently important, worthy of her secular past. Modern India has her universities, her thinkers, philosophers, scholars, artists. All—at least, we believe so—desire to see the epic grandeur of their country revived, those glorious epochs when India swayed the world by her grandeur. As the profound philosopher of contemporary India, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, has so well said in his important book, "Indian Philosophy":

*"If Indian thinkers combine a love of what is old with a thirst for what is true, Indian philosophy may yet have a future as glorious as its past."*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Indian Philosophy"—Introduction p. 53.

That is rigorously exact. All these personalities, whether of the West or the East, have been and are convinced that India ought to awaken from her lethargy and demonstrate to the world that her past glory can still serve humanity, now, in its most crucial hour.

Without entering the domain of politics, *which we have deliberately avoided in these pages*, we should like to quote the following lines of Mr. Gandhi:

*"I am married to India. I owe everything to her. I believe that she has a mission. If she fails in it, it will be a time of ordeal for me, and I hope that I myself shall not fail. My religion has no geographical limits. If my faith is living, it will surpass my love even for India..... Humanity is one. There are differences of race, but the higher the race, the greater are its duties.... India has a soul which can never perish."*<sup>1</sup>

On his part, Tagore, trying to unite all the true cultures of the world, cried:

*"All the glories of humanity are mine.... The Infinite Personality of Man.... can only be achieved in a grandiose harmony of all human races.... The awakening of India is linked to the awakening of the world.... My prayer is that India may represent the cooperation of all the peoples of the world."*<sup>2</sup>

And Jawaharlal Nehru adds these inspiring words:

*"The past of India is a long, long one, lost in the mists of antiquity; it has its sad and unhappy periods which make us feel ashamed and miserable; but on the whole it is a splendid past of which we may well be proud. We can think of it with pleasure. And yet today we have little leisure to think of the past.... But a time comes when a whole people become full of faith for a great cause, and*

<sup>1</sup> *Mahatma Gandhi*, by Romain Rolland, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 119.

*then even simple, ordinary men and women become heroes, and history becomes stirring and epoch-making'.*\*

Such outpourings of the soul are cries which echo within the consciousness of every human being who truly aspires to the Brotherhood of Peoples.

At this moment when a hurricane of violence and hate is raging across the world, and will rage still more through the world of the future, making the very framework of our civilisation crack, at this moment when intellectual and moral values are being trampled upon by the hordes of egoism, brutality, and lying, let us go together Reader-Friends, towards India from whom we can learn so much.

Let us make a holy pilgrimage. Let us go to the Temples of the South, remembering, however, that India's spiritual force does not reside in her stones, nor in her ruins, nor in her temples built by men's hands, but in her profound thought that preceded and presided over the building of all these sanctuaries and that can still enrich and ennoble the World of Tomorrow. Let us, then, go towards our Mother, *Arjantara*.

We shall travel along India's great routes. We shall mix with Indian crowds. We shall see beautiful young Hindu girls with supple, graceful deportment and great black eyes, soft as velvet, clad in their harmoniously draped saris of glistening golds, blues, and yellows; we shall traverse calm villages; we shall be present at processions worthy of those of the Arabian Nights. Lastly, we shall enter the celebrated temples where we shall learn the signification of some of the ancient symbols, old as time, in which are enshrined the eternal truths on the life of Man.

Then, we shall be in a position to contemplate the sublime Figures who long ago gave unity to India and who pointed out to the whole world the eternal and unerring

\* *Glimpses of World History*, Volume I. pp. iii and 1.

path to real happiness. We shall gather to these great spiritual Leaders of Humanity speaking. We shall gather the honey of their wisdom, their profound lessons. It may be that these lessons will become the seeds of our inner life. They will be sources of energy, intrepidity, love, and knowledge, leading us up to the lofty summits where floats the strong, sweet Fragrance of India, and where the conqueror understands the secret of life.



## PART I



## CHAPTER I

### AN INDIAN TREASURE CASKET

**F**AR away in the past, somewhere in France, a great sea port.....

In an animated street, near the quays where anchor the big mail steamers from Asia, a modest little shop of curios from the Far East. Among a crowd of exotic objects, an eight-year-old boy is standing alone while his parents on the threshold of the shop bargain with the merchant for some precious souvenirs. In the dim light, the child's eyes wander around and hardly distinguish the faded gold of Buddhas plunged in metaphysical meditation, the worn stuffs and shawls which doubtless at one time enveloped the beautiful body of some far-away princess in an Eastern palace, the grimacing dragons of jade and ivory, the copper vessels, the ebony tables inlaid with mother-of-pearl, the tigerskins.....

The boy's eyes stray thoughtfully from one object to another. Suddenly, they fasten upon a casket of carved wood. He approaches it and gently opens it. A perfume of indescribable sweetness exhales from the box. On the lid is carved a tree with spreading branches in the shade of which people are sitting in an attitude of meditation. The boy does not know why but he is mysteriously drawn toward this casket. He gazes at it, touches it, opens and closes it, and inhales its penetrating odour. All at once, he hears the merchant saying to his parents, indicating to them at the same time the object of his contemplation: "There is a treasure box made of sandal wood from India."

India! He remembers but this one word, India!

The boy's parents, attracted by other *objets d'art*,



leave him to his reverie. India! "The man said India," he thinks. His soul, without his being conscious of it, is filled with deep and strange feelings. This word, so striking for him, captures his imagination. It seems to him that this treasure casket contains the whole of India which he believes to know well from having read many strange stories about that country of mystery. Now India is before him, he touches it, he breathes its perfume through the box which he holds in his hands. He is so happy, without knowing why.

Inexpressible reminiscences! "To learn is to remember," said Plato. May it be that his child's soul remembers a time in the far past? It is for his inner life to respond, but the child himself is plunged in a profound dream. He lives an intense hour. He is not aware of it but he lives one of those hours the memory of which can never be forgotten. He does not know that the Indian treasure box will remain in the recesses of his memory and will very often emerge to haunt his youthful mind as well as his matured life of a man.

....There was a silence—one of those silences experienced during his years of adolescence. The soul needs time to adapt itself to the body.

One day, while on a boat taking him to Algeria, the youth, who is now sixteen years of age, sees in the distance a huge vessel. "It is the Mail from India," the captain tells him. India! Again this evoking word which stirs his mind. He thinks that later on he also will steer toward India, toward her shores. He had learned that she was also named *Aryavarta*, the country of the Wise Ones.

....Again some years fly swiftly past. Years of struggle, of work, of suffering, of hopes. A man's years. They count. But the soul of India watches over him. She took possession of all his being in the little curiosity shop buffeted by the wild sea wind and which smelled so good of the East. His study of Hindu philosophy only strengthened his belief in and reverence for India.

If he could not possess the famous treasure box of his childhood, he received, instead, from a very dear being, his son, residing in India—whom we will designate by the letter C.,—a wonderful Indian treasure casket all inlaid with ivory, silver, and turquoise.

It was the herald of a great event.

## CHAPTER II

### TOWARDS ARYAVARTA

**T**ODAY, the 13th April 1937, my great dream is realised. Is it possible? We start, or rather we are going to start, for India. Next month, exactly on the 28th May, we shall embark at Genoa for Bombay. I cannot yet believe it, although the decision is taken. C. is waiting for us over there, A. and myself. Our friend D. will accompany us.

In my study, I find myself looking at all the Indian objects which are around me. There is the beautiful treasure casket, a small statue of Gautama the Buddha, a little ivory elephant which seems to salute me with its trunk by a sonorous trumpeting. There is also a little temple bell in chiselled copper casting a red reflection, the grave tone of which invites me, if I desire it, to recollection. And here are some old photographs of my childhood: the boat which brought me and my parents home from the far Pacific by way of the South Seas, New Caledonia, Noumea, then Aden, the Suez Canal, Port Said. They are precious to me these ancient photos for they always stir up in me a nostalgia for those far-off countries of the East, those burning seas, especially for *Aryavarta* the land of the Aryans, the Wise Ones.

*Monday, 24th May*

Feverish days. The day after tomorrow is the day of our departure. Trunks, valises encumber the house buried in its garden in the environs of Paris.

*Evening*

A nightingale is singing in the big ash tree. It is so

sweet, so penetrating, this song, that as we listen to it we recall a passage from a very old Asiatic book: "The first sound thou hast to hear is like the nightingale's sweet voice chanting a song of parting to its mate."

*Tuesday, 25th May*

Shopping in Paris. We breakfasted, D. and I, on two croissants and coffee cream in the Latin Quarter.

*Wednesday, 26th May*

Departure, at last! Twenty-two trunks and valises to label. It's awful but marvellous. Two hours in which to gum on the labels (which do not stick) and to write on each one of them these thrilling words:

*"Steamer 'Centa-Rosso.' Berth 18, from Genoa to Bombay."*

A hurried lunch, very hurried, and at 2 p.m. the van arrives, because it is a van that we need. At last, everything is squeezed in for good or ill and we say goodbye to our house, our garden, and above all to "Mongol," our good and faithful cat.

*7.55 p.m.*

*Gare de Lyon.* We are installed in our compartment. With much difficulty, we have managed to fit everything in: typewriters, gigantic hat boxes belonging to my two companions, valises, rugs, etc..... The train for Italy leaves at 8. 25. p.m.

*7.50 p.m.*

We must move everything out again and change carriages.... The porter has mistaken the coach. We are not in the one which goes direct to Genoa. What a delightful episode!

*8.15 p.m.*

Installed now definitively. At least, we hope so. A storm over Paris. Last goodbyes to our good and dear

friends. We are sorry to see them sad but glad to know that they are happy on our account. And.....

8.25 *p.m.*

Departure for India. We are alone, the three of us, in our compartment and are deeply moved.

*Thursday, 27th May*

Crossing the Alps, still covered with snow. We had breakfast at Modane. The sun is shining brilliantly.

### GENOA

We arrive at Genoa. It is 2. 30 *p.m.* The descent from the mountains is most beautiful. Glimpses over the Mediterranean, so blue, of course.

On our arrival, we take some rooms at an hotel near the station and then go immediately to the office of the Compagnie de Navigation. Everything is in order. The boat will leave tomorrow at 3 *p.m.* We go on to the quay to look at it. It is a beautiful ship, all white, solid and yet so slender.

We then make a hasty visit, in a good old fiacre, to the Italian town, crossing the quarter of the fishermen which is very picturesque with its high houses and ex-votos. From one corner commanding the town, we look over Genoa and its terraces, framed by the surrounding mountains.

*Evening*

After dinner, we go to have another look at our beautiful ship, all lighted up now. Beside her is a Dutch steamer which will start tomorrow for Java.

*Friday, 28th May*

A very unrestful night. Oh! those tramcars of Genoa which make a din like hell. Why didn't we choose an hotel perched on the side of one of the mountains?

We start very early in the morning to visit the Campo-

Sancto, the famous cemetery where the triumph of bones reaches its greatest intensity. The site between the green hills is very pretty. We do not wish to hurt anyone's feelings, but those tombs on which stand life-size—and even larger—statues of the dead are much too realist and ridiculous. There is one which represents the deceased wearing a coat, standing with an expression of gaiety under his bowler hat placed all askew. He seems to say: "What a good lunch I have had to day!" Another statue is a true likeness of a dead woman. What has she done, poor soul? She is weeping before the gate of Hell. Happily, praise be to God, a special grace in the form of an angel allows her to take the road to Paradise. What gross superstitions are amassed by men! What false conceptions blind us! In this cemetery *de luxe* Death has a terrifying aspect, mournful, and unhealthy. Oh! for the funeral pyres of India, all covered with flowers, where our physical remains are purified in living flames. We are in haste to leave these places and to go on board.

#### AT SEA—PORTS OF CALL

11 *a.m.*

The weather is glorious and warm when we embark. The ship's cabins and salons are large and light. We receive a cable from C. wishing us a very enjoyable voyage. Suddenly, from the upper deck, we see on the quay two of our trunks which have been forgotten! Heavens! our light clothing, flannel belts....one must provide for everything. We precipitate ourselves, D. and I, on to the quay in order to have them brought on board. Are the malicious Devas (spirits of Nature) already playing tricks on us?

3 *p.m.*

Three hoots from the ship's siren. Hats and handkerchiefs, as usual, of course. The eternal and sad good-byes at long partings. The *Conte-Rosso* glides slowly out of the dock. We set off for Asia, for India so fasci-

nating. Genoa, its mountains, its Campo-Sancto, are blurred by the heat mists and.... it is the open sea. The repose of the sea in the expectation of what is to come.

Around us on the deck, it seems already to be almost the East. Hindus, wearing majestic turbans, come and go. A fleeting glimpse of India "tranquil and immutable."

.....Evening on the sea has come. The moon rises before the ship. In the great calm, the ship's bells ring the quarter in solemn tones. Night is so sweet, so magnificently beautiful in joy.....

*Saturday, 29th May*

After a good and peaceful night in our cabins, we go early on deck. It is a marvell! In the dazzling sun, some enchanting islands announce to us Naples, reclining indolently at the edge of the blue waves.

There is classic Vesuvius, which appears surrounded with smoke, and the fairy bay. Bright sunlight floods the town, people, and all things. Over there, on the left, is Posilipo. In the distance, Pompeii, Capri....

10 a.m.

Immediately after docking, we disembark in order to pay a short visit to Naples, as anchor will be hoisted at 2 p.m.

An animated crowd in the Napolitan streets. Very narrow streets where the sun scarcely penetrates. From the fronts of the high houses hand coloured rags, shirts, sheets..... Various little shops are selling fruit, fish, vegetables, old bath-tubs, saucepans, while low carts, painted in crying colours and drawn by mules shaking gay little bells, trot past us.

A conveyance takes us through the principal streets and on to the beautiful promenade which runs along the sea front. At one jeweller's, we let ourselves be tempted by a pretty ring of rose coral. Unfortunately, we have not

sufficient time during this short visit to go and see other celebrated places.

2 p.m.

We embark with numerous passengers and the boat now starts for Port Said, towards the land of the Pharaohs.

We look once more over the Bay of Naples, then the *Conte-Rosso* heads for the South. On the calm sea, dolphins frolic joyously.

*Evening*

After an excellent dinner, we go again on deck. Before us, Messina is in view. At 11 o'clock, we enter the Straits. The scene is one of great beauty. On both sides, innumerable lights sparkle and a breeze off the land wafts to us the scent of flowers. Stromboli remains invisible. As we pass out of the Straits, the slight swell of the sea gently rocks the boat, it is going to lull us to sleep in our bunks.

*Sunday, 30th May*

A beautiful, clear day. The sea unchangingly blue. All the hours that we live are passing so rapidly. They are so light and happy, and yet so profound, that time no longer exists. The hours spent on board are never monotonous. Life is organised among the passengers: games, bathing in the swimming pools, conversations, take up all their attention. On our boat, there are Chinese, Hindus, Mohammedans, and many Italians. The latter are going to Ethiopia, the former are returning to their countries.

We have installed our deck chairs in the prow of the boat, away from all the noisy passengers. In the evening, when the stars appear and the sea swell rocks us, we see these lights of heaven as little lamps that an invisible hand balances in the infinity of time in order to point out to us the route to follow during the long life of days. Oh! how beautiful are the present hours, sad also when one thinks that they fall little by little into the past which



will never return. No, to say that the past will never return is false. The past does return, Hindu philosophy teaches us, but doubtless with different modalities. Each passing day forms causes which will produce effects in the future and so on in the endless chain of the law of cause and effect. It is *Karma*, the law of Destiny.

*Monday, 31st May—8 a.m.*

We are approaching Egypt. The sun is resplendent. A. and D. are wearing light dresses. I, naturally, have donned a white suit. This evening, towards midnight, we shall be at Port Said, the door of the East, the place in all the world where one is most likely to meet a face one knows.

#### EVENING AND SUNRISE AT PORT SAID

*11 p.m.*

The moon rises over Egypt and the phare of the Port Said lighthouse sweeps the horizon. The air is lukewarm. The boat stops, the pilot comes on board. Half-an-hour later we enter the harbour. Port Said is illuminated by a thousand lights. It is the night life of Port Said. Innumerable little boats surround the *Conte-Rosso* and with hoarse cries the boatmen in their fez invite us to buy their wares. We anchor not far from the quay and by a floating passage-way we cross over from the ship to the quay. Here we are welcomed by a crowd of Arabs who also insist on selling us stuffs, bracelets, necklaces, cigarettes, and even....obscene post cards.

This crowd follows us, besieges us, while we wend our way towards the shops which remain open the whole night, as long as there are steamers coming in from Asia or from Europe. Merchants and cafes, as well as places of easy and exciting amusement, make mints of gold.

We enter the largest store where can be found every article that a traveller may need: clothing, colonial helmets, shawls for the icy nights in the desert—for the desert with its vast expanse is quite near—canes, electric pocket lamps,

jewels, articles made of embossed leather, rings mounted with beautiful precious stones.... I buy a colonial helmet; it reminds me of my childhood. Then, through the sweet night, we wander along the streets of Port Said. Most of the houses with their large verandas have an exotic stamp about them, and at this late hour of the night the cafes are overflowing with their heteroclite clientele, in which are mixed almost all the races on the globe, daily outpoured by passing vessels. It is one of the most amazing places in the world.

We walk toward the deserted jetty where stands the statue of de Lesseps. The outline of the *Conte-Rosso*, all illuminated, can be seen in the middle of the channel. Along the side of the jetty, feluccas are moored which sway gently to and fro. They are so gracious, these barks with slanting masts. On the beach, bathed by the moonlight, the waves of the peaceful Mediterranean murmur softly. When returning on board, I am touched to see once more the Suez Canal which I glimpsed long ago with my eyes of a child.

*Tuesday, 1st June—3 a.m.*

Our departure is postponed, we shall not hoist anchor before 6 o'clock. We are delighted, since in this way the passage through the Canal will be made during the day time. While awaiting the departure of the boat, we remain on deck, under the Captain's bridge. From here, we command a view of the whole boat as well as the harbour and Port Said. What a radiant Egyptian night! All one's being expands with joy. Apart from a few twinkling lights on the barges which surround our vessel, all is quiet now on board and on the quays. Port Said sleeps at last. The passengers also. We are the only ones watching.

The sky is gemmed with stars. The desert wind brings us the characteristic odour of Eastern ports, a mingling of bitter orange peel and lemon. It is a magic night.....

Suddenly, without lingering, night fades. The houses, the palm trees on the quay, the lighthouse, the prow of the ship, everything becomes more distinct. The veil of night is lifted. Dawn is breaking. Already, the birds are waking up in the gardens of Port Said and tittering gaily. The cocks of Egypt announce powerful Baal who now with majesty appears, throwing far and wide his burning rays. The wonderful sunlight flows over the port, the Canal, the tawny desert, the blue sea. Between the jetties, feluccas unfurl their sails and like great white birds disperse over the sea, blown before a strong breeze. What a joy to be alive! This sunrise over the land of Egypt will be forever engraved in our memories.

6 a.m.

The pilot comes aboard. The Canal is going to be free. Behind us, the Dutch steamer en route for Java, which left Genoa before we did, enters the dock. It will follow us during the twelve hours' crossing of the Canal. At this early hour, the activity of Port Said is already prodigious. The shops on the quay have opened their doors to receive the eternal wanderers from the sea. A multitude of small craft furrow the port. A caravan of ships, coming from the Red Sea, moves out of the Canal. There is an Italian transport loaded with troops returning from Abyssinia, from the war that appears so sinister to the joy of living. Then, a great petrol tanker, then other boats hailing from India, China, Arabia, the incessant and extraordinary coming and going between East and West through this narrow corridor of the sea, the Suez Canal, the object of so much covetousness.

A sound of chains, several blows on a whistle, the hoisting of the anchor in the bows of the *Conte-Rosso* ..... We are moving. Behind us, other ships follow. Port Said, the town which never sleeps—or so little—recedes further and further into the distance and we enter the Canal.

## THE ROSE DESERT OF ARABIA, THE FIERY SEA

*Noon*

The sun is burning. On both sides of the Canal, the immense desert. On the left is Arabia, on the right, Egypt. The Pharaonic country is more indented, more mountainous. The Arabian desert has an unspeakable charm with its tawny colours, sometimes coral rose. Here are the scenes so often looked at in the old photographs of my childhood, gazed at also long ago with my eyes of childhood. I never weary of contemplating this vast horizon, the caravans of camels which pass not far from the banks of the Canal, camels the colour of the desert.

*Afternoon*

We come to Ismailia—such a melodious name—its beautiful gardens, its trees blossoming with bright red flowers, its beach on which are spread tents, bow-shaped. And always the desert.

At six o'clock in the evening, after having crossed the great lakes, we come at last to the threshold of the Red Sea. The scene is truly an imposing one. On the right, under the trees, Port Tewfik; in the bay, Suez displays its white houses; at the end, great sun-scorched mountains aureoled by the gold of sunset; on the left, Arabia and its rose desert.

The *Conte-Rosso* stops an instant in order to land the pilot and we start again in the hot night for India.

*Wednesday, 2nd June*

Wind very strong. A big swell behind us. The rolling of the boat very accentuated. The Red Sea is magnificently blue. Under this violent and burning wind, heated by a fiery sun, the Red Sea has an aspect of ancient times, of periods, so to say, pre-human, when worlds were born. The sky is nearly white, as if at fusion point. Great sheets of water, deep blue, rise in enormous irides-

cent waves, started with scorching foam, resembling a gigantic peacock's tail unfolded. On this moving surface, there is nothing but fire, apocalyptic fire, the fire which in its metaphysical aspect creates and destroys, the fire which is the most mystical of the elements. Is it not the father of light, the progenitor of heat, the manifestation of motion? "The Eternal is fire, the fire of the law," said Moses on descending from Mount Sinai, that Mount which is not far from us but just behind the heat mists over there on the horizon.

*Thursday, 3rd June—10 p.m.*

After sailing all one night and another day on an incandescent sea, we reach Massawa. The night is stifling and heavy. An Italian destroyer comes alongside the *Corta-Rossa*. There is a war going on near here, it is true. A contingent of Italian troops who have come to colonize poor unfortunate Abyssinia, disembarks here. The land is often hostile in these wild places, the climate is deadly, but they swim off, these troops, young, happy to be alive, with the carelessness of youth which does not see what colonization founded in blood by fascist tyrants will be. Among them is a young Italian woman, pretty, elegant, distinguished, and full of joy. She has come to join her husband, an officer, also young, who left at the beginning of the campaign and will remain in Abyssinia with the army of occupation. A lovely couple, truly. Both of them, radiant with joy and love, descend the ladder-way in order to board the transport which will take them to land, toward the future.... While poor Somali porters, half-naked, wearing magnificent turbans, rose-coloured, red, or blue (it is their only ornament), bend their backs under heavy loads of baggage, under the contempt and insults of the Italian police.

*Friday, 4th June*

The sea has calmed but the heat remains the same. We pass Perim about 3 o'clock in the afternoon. An arid

coast with only some white houses standing under the burning sun.

### THE CRICKETS OF ADEN

10 p.m.

We arrive at Aden, our last port of call before Bombay. While the *Conte-Rosso* is coaling, we take a vedette in order to visit the port. Oh! those vedettes, they are D's terror. From the moment we disembark, as before at Port Said, we are besieged by a troop of Arabs offering us cigarettes, flowers, necklaces.... My glance turns immediately toward the beach. Alas! there are no camels. Where are the caravans of long ago which in my childhood I saw on this sand dune? Behind the desolate mountains, doubtless, on the desert tracks....

We wander along through the night. In the parched gardens, in the lanes, the crickets of Aden sing joyfully and ceaselessly. They are everywhere, in the gardens, in the arcaded houses, in the beds or mattresses where people are sleeping outside in the street in the vain hope of finding a little cool air. What a dizzying concert! Chauffeurs in luxurious cars offer to drive us to the town some miles distant. We prefer to go back on board for fear of missing our boat. And always and everywhere those crickets of Aden, even on the deck and on the buoys in the channel.

*Saturday, 5th June—3 a.m.*

We go down into our cabins to take a little rest before the vessel sails. But it is impossible to sleep in this suffocating oven. We go on deck again. Bright moonlight floods the high rocks leaning over Aden. Very soon dawn comes and we get under way. Then, out on the high seas once more, the Indian Ocean. Sitting in the prow, we lose ourselves in the dream of life....

### FLYING FISHES, A YOGI BETWEEN DECKS

As the day advances, the heat becomes more and more intense. We watch a cloud of flying fishes which follows

the ship. The Purser, a charming man, shows us over the steamer. We go down between decks, we glance into the kitchens, where is concentrated the gastronomic life on board, and into the crew's quarters; we catch a glimpse of the machinery, the mechanics' dining room. Then, D. and myself, the Purser having left us in order to give some orders, continue our tour of the boat. Suddenly, in a corner between decks, a picture that stirs us deeply: on a carpet woven in warm colours, an aged Hindu is sitting cross-legged like a Buddha, the palms of his hands resting on his knees; his beautiful calm face is adorned with a long white beard; his hair, also white, reaches to his neck; he is clothed in a long white tunic; in the depths of his large eyes, shining with an infinite gentleness, is the peace of one who has overcome desire. He is the living image of the verse of the *Bhagavad-Gita*: "He who finds in himself his light and his joy is a Yogi united spiritually." On the carpet, before him in a copper bowl, some sticks of sandal wood are burning, from which rises a fragrant, pervasive perfume. Beside him, a youth with clear-cut features—his *chela*, his disciple—is reclining and sleeping a passionless sleep. Discreetly, we stop for a few seconds to contemplate this scene. The atmosphere around the Yogi seems so calm. It is the India of long ago, perhaps of today. His beautiful eyes rest upon us with love and a smile illuminates his face. It seems to us that we receive a blessing. We go on our way much touched.

*Sunday, 6th June*

Rough sea. Rolling. Flying fishes. They chase each other through the foam-crested waves.

6 p.m.

The sea becomes rougher and rougher. The passengers are exhausted by the monsoon heat and humidity which are being experienced at this season. We resist as well as we can. To add to our happiness, an order comes from the captain to close all portholes in the cabins and

salons. The barometer is rapidly falling. A typhoon is feared. We look forward to a bad night.

At dinner, the Purser comes to our table to show us, on a metal plate, a flying fish which had mistaken its direction. The poor fish, evidently believing that it was entering Neptune's fairy palace, flew into a cabin through the open porthole and there, on the carpet, it died. A sad fate for a flying fish of the Indian Ocean! It was so pretty, with its wings like nacre.

I go on to the prow of the boat to try and inhale a little fresh air. The wind, unfortunately, is blowing from behind and it is so hot. The surging billows are very majestic. Through the tumult of the waves breaking over the boat, we see the stars tracing immense arcs in the sky. On the bridge, the officers watch anxiously. In the salons, the passengers look at each other with apprehension. A woman is on the deck, ill, and the doctor is giving her injections to revive her. At three o'clock in the morning, the ocean seems slightly calmer. I go down into my cabin and sleep while the waves rush onward to make their assault upon the ship.

*Monday, 7th June*

There was no typhoon. Today, the day before the last, the weather is marvellous. The storm has passed. Faces are serene again. We are approaching Asia. We learn that the bad weather has hindered our progress and that instead of arriving at Bombay tomorrow afternoon, it will be late at night before we get into port. What a pity! We should have so much liked to arrive by day so as to be able to watch the coast of India drawing near. Let us hope that the monsoon has not yet commenced in Bombay! It would be disastrous to disembark under a deluge.

We remain on deck to look at the beautiful sunset. The sun sinks in a lovely blue light, while the clouds, fringed with orange, give a delicate transparence to the sky.

Then we go down between decks to see for the last



time our old Hindu Yogi. He is still there, this time reclining on the carpet, supported on his elbows. His face wears the same imprint of serenity. From where does he come? Where is he going? It is good to have seen him once more.

*Tuesday, 8th June—5 p.m.*

Thanks be to Varuna, the God of Wind in the Hindu pantheon. The monsoon has not yet reached the continent of India. It is simply splendid weather. The land of India is approaching. Feverish preparations for disembarking. Trunks, valises are closed. Unfortunately, a small accident has happened to A. The bar of her bunk tumbled down, hitting her on the lip which is now all swollen. She is obliged to suck ice and lemon to bring down the swelling. In spite of all, joy reigns. In about an hour's time, we shall be in sight of Bombay, just as the sun is setting. We are thrilled to the depths.

From the prow, we scan the horizon with our field glasses. We can no longer contain ourselves. India is there, quite near. It will very soon appear. India millenary, with its glorious past.

*6 p.m.*

A sprinkle of gold on the calm sea. Over there on the horizon, a vague form emerges, golden, which little by little becomes distinct. It is India!

### THE MOTHER

The *Conte-Rosso* slackens her speed. We enter the splendid bay of Bombay. On the right, a group of islands headed by the celebrated Elephanta with its famous temples carved out of the rock.

In front of us, Bombay: its white houses, the dome of its grand hotel, the Taj Mahal; then, Malabar Hill on the left with its hanging gardens, beautiful trees, sumptuous palaces. This is Asia, the real East with all its magic, magic of colour, and also of thought. There is not a ruin or

a monument but that has its own history. Behind the town, extends a ridge of mountains. Everywhere, on their slopes, covered by forests and by an almost impenetrable jungle, are scattered temples, pagodas, mosques, belonging to innumerable religious sects. Here and there, at the hour of sunset, the last warm rays of the dying sun touch some holy edifice, a cell hollowed out of the rock, the ancient dwelling of some saintly hermit, an old ruined fortress, a sacred pool where lotus bloom....

But the boat veers round, approaches the quay, and comes alongside. C. is there awaiting us with some friends. Profoundly moved on seeing C. again. He waves us a welcome. Indian policemen come on board. They are quaint with their yellow berets and bare feet in sandals. A crowd of coolies invade the boat. They are wearing the national dhoti, a large piece of material, generally white with a coloured border, which is worn round the waist or is passed between the legs, or they have a shirt, the tails of which float outside over their hips.

C. in his turn comes up the gangway, followed by some friends and a crowd of other people. Truly, it is only India that knows how to receive and to welcome. In a few seconds, our necks are encircled with garlands of sweet scented jasmine—India's perfume.

After the usual passport formalities, we are able to descend the gangway and to plant our feet at last upon the soil of India. Then, through the swiftly fallen night, we drive with C. to Malabar Hill, where we are hospitably received in a house standing on the coast beside the sea.

1 a.m.

After long hours spent with C., all sleeps now in the vast mansion which is an ancient Moslem palace. I have made a tour of the large garden. The brilliant moon streams through the long Moorish galleries, supported by openworked pillars. The palm trees sway gently in the ocean breeze. The night is hot and yet so sweet. From nearby comes the murmur of the sea....

In my heart, a plenitude, a silence also....Why?  
Soon, I shall be sleeping in the invisible but ever present  
arms of the Mother, at last refound.

### CHAPTER III

## BOMBAY, INDIAN RAILWAY STATIONS A HINDU DINNER

**T**HE next morning, we are awakened early by the chirruping of many birds—birds of all sorts and sizes and harlequin plumage. Crows and vultures are manifestly very fat, above all the latter, which have no attraction for me. They come without doubt from the sinister Towers of Silence, where the bodies of the dead are exposed in the open air on slabs of stone and devoured in an hour or two by these rapacious birds. But let us leave the Parsi cemetery to the followers of Zoroaster and inhale the fresh, early-morning breeze from the Indian Ocean and bathe ourselves in sunlight and brightness. The grey skies of the West have disappeared and it is the enchantment of India which is commencing.

However, we have to shut our valises again as we are remaining but a few hours in Bombay. We shall come back later on. Therefore, it is another departure, with C. this time, the departure for South India, towards Mysore State, then the Blue Mountains, and subsequently towards the superhuman beauty of the temples.

We cross Bombay, but this time we see the town in resplendent sunshine. We pass by the hanging gardens of Malabar Hill, from where the view over the bay, the isles and the *ghats* (mountains), is marvellous. Bombay lies stretched out at our feet, its palaces and houses in Oriental style, its vegetation, its flame trees—trees covered with great scarlet blossoms. The scene is unforgettable. But time is flying. Our automobile takes us through the bazaar. Here life is humming.

We arrive at the monumental railway station, built

in Moresque style. We are a little late, for the train will start in two minutes. Coolies seize our luggage and all four of us climb quickly into our compartment. Once more, we receive garlands of flowers offered by our acquaintances and the train, the Madras Mail, carries us away towards Wonderland.

Our first stage will be Bangalore. For about thirty hours, shut up in our compartment, we shall cross the immense plateau of the Deccan. The train is already climbing the steep slopes of the "ghats." We reach Poona, the summer hill station. And night falls rapidly.

.... Very early the next morning, we are awakened at a station. On the platform, a whole crowd of people is moving to and fro. Then off starts the train again. But we must describe the stations of India.

Oh! these Indian stations. They are unique. The train stops. Right now, here is one. No, not yet, it is only a cow which has taken possession of the line. Fortunately, the engine driver has slowed down in time. She is driven away with respect towards the fields. Do not forget that the cow is sacred in India. She represents the metaphysical symbol of the Earth, the Mother who not only nourishes but who possesses every mystic, cosmic, as well as human power. But we move on again and several miles further along there appears at last a little station lost in the Deccan. It is Kulluru. On the platform, a whole buzzing crowd. From where do they come, all these people? There are Mohammedans, Hindus, accompanied by their families, the women draped in their gracious saris of different colours, the children with big, velvety black eyes. They are all going to a marriage or a funeral, or perhaps they are making a pious pilgrimage. Men pass adroitly through this crowd, carrying on their heads or balancing on their hands baskets full of provisions: oranges, succulent red bananas, curry, tea, mangoes; others are carrying copper vessels filled with drinking water. In melodious tones, these water carriers chant a magic word which includes the thirst of all the travellers: "Pani! 'Pani! Pani!"

For our part, we have followed the custom of well-to-do Hindu families. Our Bombay friends have prepared a large basket for us, in which we discover a quantity of excellent eatables, strictly vegetarian: fruit, cheese, honey, biscuits.

Most of the travellers have packed themselves, for good or ill, into the train. Others have remained behind on the platform. Seated or lying on the ground in the shadow of a great banyan tree, they wait for another train, their eternal little tin trunk beside them; it is all their luggage. All this crowd speaks, chatters, while the children push each other about or, putting their finger in their nose, gaze at the people coming and going. We wait, now, for the train to start again. The strong Deccan wind is blowing and the sun is darting down its burning rays. One feels so far, so far....

Suddenly, the train starts off, why one does not know. We pass through beautiful palm groves, then country scorched by the sun, where nothing but aloes grow. Everywhere, the earth is orange-red in colour. On the roads are herds of buffaloes, cows, and goats; men also, always in their dhoti; women in saris, walking with their souple steps. Where are they going? Six o'clock in the evening; the time passes. It is more than twenty-four hours since we left Bombay. We are already in the south of India, at least, mid-south. We enter the magnificent State of Mysore.

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Fresh and fit, in spite of thirty hours of travelling, we get out at Bangalore. It is a beautiful June evening. Some excellent friends are waiting for us: a Hindu Brahman, his wife, a charming English woman, wearing the national sari. They take us to their beautiful bungalow situated near the magnificent public park, where monkeys are frolicking in the trees.

While driving through Bangalore, we recall, D. and I, the book written by Judith Gautier, daughter of the great Theophile, "*L'Inde Eblouie*" where she narrates with her

keen, romantic imagination the happy love affairs of the young and beautiful queen of Bangalore with the Chevalier de Bussy. (But alas! history, true history, says that the queen was old and ugly. Which to believe, oh God? Judith Gautier, of course.)

In our honour, we are received in true Hindu style. A Hindu home is always simple. This one reflects the influence of the West. It is very clean and the furniture is in exquisite taste. In the living room are large arm-chairs and sofas. On the mosaic floor are rugs or mats and some large copper trays supported by ornamental tripods, fretworked. In the place of doors are curtains of flimsy material which sway gently in the breeze; across the large window, the foliage of palm trees.

We go into the dining room where there is no furniture at all. On the mats covering the polished floor are large long banana leaves. We are seven convives in all, including the child of our hosts, a delicious little boy of seven years old, typically Hindu, with a white shirt outside his long trousers which fit closely from the knee. We seat ourselves on the ground, with legs crossed. Do not expect any chairs. Beware also of your articulations, cramp comes quickly. It is a simple question of habit. On the banana leaves, the Hindu servants—wearing white turbans and going bare-foot, silent as shadows—serve a whole gamme of very spiced curries, rice cooked to a point, different kinds of vegetables, curds, popadums—dry *galettes*, thin as cigarette paper—some sweet dishes made of almonds, raisins, and something white and threadlike resembling vermicelli. To drink, we have coconut milk and water with pepper for the digestion. A true and succulent Brahman dinner.

But listen, oh! distinguished Europeans. There are no forks, nor knives. One has to eat with one's fingers. How horrible! You forget that from the beginning of the Western nations until the end of the 18th century, Christians never made use of forks and that from Rome of the Caesars to the most Christian kings, from the luxurious feasts of

Lucullus to the magnificent banquets of the kings of France, the guests, who were nobles of high birth and exalted rank, when choosing the most delicate dishes, took them and ate them with their fingers. Was it not the wife of Charles le Bel who had as a gift in her wedding basket this barbarous instrument which is called a fork? Was it not Anne of Austria who in 1651 refused to employ this same instrument, preferring to eat with her fingers, thus giving an example to her noble son, the *Roi-Soleil*? Is it not, yet again, our own Montaigne who remarks in his Essays that "eating too quickly, he had often bitten his fingers?"

To eat with the fingers then is an art. In India, one uses three fingers of the right hand only, the left hand remaining immobile. It is a question of taking delicately a small quantity of rice, of mixing it with curries, curds, *dal* (a kind of lentil), and with that forming an excellent little ball that we then carry to our lips. Popadums are also used for taking vegetables. Then, the servants go round with copper bowls, filled with water, in which we wash our fingers. And, as in a home strictly Hindu they are all vegetarians, such a meal is purer, cleaner than one where forks, which have been used by others and which are more or less badly washed, are used. It is certainly more hygienic. If we add that Brahmans take a complete bath before a meal and change their clothes, we believe we are right in saying that Hindu meals are a satisfaction to the taste as well as a pleasure to the soul in consequence of the conversation exchanged in an atmosphere, peaceful and instinct with a great sweetness. But I own I prefer a fork.

....Later on, under my mosquito net, before falling asleep, I hear the monkeys frolicking in the park, making mocking laughter.

Far off, a temple gong resounds....



#### CHAPTER IV

### MYSORE, ITS PALACES, ITS ARABIAN NIGHTS' PROCESSIONS, THE GODDESS CHAMOUNDI

**T**HE following morning, we leave our hosts whom we shall meet again tomorrow at Mysore. Thanks to our friend the Brahman, we are going to be the guests of the Maharajah of Mysore at the grand fête to be held in his honour on his birthday.

A three-hours' drive in automobile separates us from the capital of the State. The sun, clear and hot, pours its brightness over Bangalore, its gardens and beautiful Oriental buildings: the Indian Institute of Science, the Central College, the Sanscrit College, and how many others. In this town, the air is very pure, Mysore State being situated at an altitude of 1000 to 1500 metres. The road which unites Bangalore to Mysore is excellent and does credit to the government. It crosses pretty country, interspersed with vast cultivated plains and beautiful palm groves.

As we glide along *à toute allure*, passing ancient carts drawn by zebus, herds of buffaloes or goats, we survey this beautiful State which enjoys such a merited renown. Covering a surface of 29,483 square miles, possessing an ideal climate, it has a population of seven million inhabitants. It is a country of gentle hills, of immense forests where grow teak, rosewood, the famous sandalwood, and which are the repair of tigers, bisons, chittas—sort of leopard—and wild elephants. In the fertile plains extend rice fields, like green carpets, fields of millet, cotton, and sugarcane. In the big centres, silk, soap, and sandal oil industries are developed. Numerous

waterfalls supply the electric factories, and canals bring their life-giving waters there where before extended only uncultivated and parched plains.

Tradition associates Mysore State with the legends enshrined in the poems of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. In times somewhat nearer, in the third century B. C., the country formed part of the Empire of the great Asoka. Then, towards the eighth century of our era, it had the privilege of seeing some *mathams* (centres of spiritual education) established, founded by one of the greatest philosophers of India: Sankaracharya. Later on, the State of Mysore was ruled over by three great royal families: the Kadambas, the Hoysalas, and the kings of Vijayanagar. It is to the second of these dynasties, the Hoysalas, that we are indebted for the building of the temples, the marvellous architecture of which reached its fullest development in the thirteenth century, such as Somanathpur, Belur, and Halebid.

Today, the Government of Mysore is placed under the very wise direction of the Maharajah Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar IV.\* He is a man remarkable for his culture, nobility of thought, and for the good that he accomplishes in his State. He has had the wisdom to associate with himself, as Prime Minister, Sir Mirza Ismail, an organizer of the first order. The Maharajah came to the throne in 1891, when he was but a child. He has reigned since 1902. He and his Prime Minister, a Hindu and a Mohammedan, show what two men of different religious beliefs can accomplish when they are united by a veritable brotherhood of soul and love for their people.

It is then with ardent interest that we are driving towards Mysore. If Bangalore is the seat of the administration with its 100,000 inhabitants, Mysore is the capital with a population of 84,000 inhabitants.

Accordingly, we approach the town. It is eleven

\*At the moment of arranging these pages in order, we learn with sorrow of the death of this eminent Prince.

o'clock in the morning. The route is bordered with superb banyan trees, the branches of which bend down toward the earth and take root. Some mischievous monkeys, frisking nimbly from tree to tree, make grimaces at us. In the vast plain, a solitary hill stands out, it is Chamoundi Hill. It dominates Mysore. Its summit is crowned with a temple dedicated to the goddess Chamoundi.

We come at last to Mysore, the Charmeress; Mysore, the city with sumptuous gardens where grow palm trees, flame trees robed in scarlet blossoms, and where bloom clusters of flowers of marvellous hues: cannas, red, orange, yellow; gladioli; roses and roses; sweet-smelling jasmine. The town is wearing an air of fête. Coloured banners wave gaily, moved by the puffs of the hot breeze. In the large avenues, a whole crowd is moving about. These people have come from the furthest villages of the State to assist at tomorrow's great procession and to fête the fifty-second birthday of their sovereign.

At the hotel, we change our dusty clothes and put on immaculate white costumes. After lunch, we stroll through the streets, all decorated with flags. We admire the bungalows buried under palm trees and flowers. No tramways, no buses. But *tongas*, light little carriages with conical, pagoda-like roofs painted in gay colours, take us rapidly at the trot of a spirited poney through the streets and avenues. We catch a glimpse of the zoological garden with its beautiful park, then the Municipal Palace with its light, delicately embattled towers, the modern hospitals, the Medical College, the Government Training College; the Oriental Library; the Maharajah's College; the Technical Institute, where are exhibited works of art in ivory, sandalwood, and lacquer; the Ayurvedic College, where the ancient medicine of India is studied. All these edifices are vast buildings in Indo-Moresque style with an installation entirely modern. In the bazaar, merchants, sitting cross-legged, make mints of gold. And when evening falls, Chamoundi Hill, illuminated, resembles a great nave floating in space.

The next morning, we wend our way towards the Maharajah's palace which we are going to visit by special authorisation.

First is the great square, in the centre of which rises a marble kiosk roofed with a golden dome. It shelters the statue of the present Maharajah. At the end of the square are the monumental gates of the palace, ornamented with sculptures and paintings. Under the exterior arcades of the palace are two little temples dedicated one to the god Shiva and the other to Ganesha. Beyond the gates, in an immense park, is the palace surmounted by innumerable cupola-capped towers. The walls, balustrades, pillars, cornices, the curtains of fretworked stone, are of granit, red, black, or grey, of porphyry, or of white and green marble. The marble architraves are encrusted with semi-precious stones, blue, green, grey, red, amber, forming exquisite arabesques.

We are received on the threshold of the palace by a functionary in full uniform. He is charged with the task of showing us over this enchanted palace, a task which he accomplishes with extreme courtesy.

Here reigns the unimaginable luxe of the East. If the palace as a whole is in the Indo-Moresque style, the sculptures belong to the Hoysala school. After crossing some great halls, we enter the octagonal Hall of Marriage, named the Peacock Hall. The dome of this hall is supported by triple columns of extreme delicacy, while the light is latticed by stained glass windows. At the back is a gallery in brilliant colours, raised on massive pillars. It is from this gallery, hidden by curtains of silk and gold, that royal ladies view the princely marriage ceremonies.

In another hall, we are shown an object which is perhaps the most precious in the whole palace: the *Simhasana*, the Throne of the Lion, the ancestral throne which belonged, so it is said, to the very ancient dynasty of the *Pandavas*, heroes in the epic poem, the *Mahabharata*. The throne is of figwood encrusted with ivory, but now the ivory is covered over with arabesques of gold and silver.

It is also ornamented with sculptures representing elephants, horses, chariots, and warriors; one sees there, too, the *Trimurti*, the Trinity of the Hindu pantheon: Brahmâ, Vishnu, Shiva. The seat of the throne is of tortoise shell. The canopy, of gold and pearls, is surmounted by the fabulous bird, the *Huma*. The legend says that this bird flies continuously, without stopping, and when its shadow rests on the head of someone, that one will become king.

We now climb the vast marble staircase which leads to the Salon of Music, green and gold, where a great organ towers above everything, seats covered with splendid tapestry, green plants hiding their roots in the feet of ebony elephants.

In the colossal Hall of the Durbar, we find all the exuberance of the Orient, although the general aspect of brilliant colour, in which are mingled green, gold, orange, and blue, is of striking harmony and beauty. The ceiling, in teak wood magnificently sculptured, is supported by massive columns which form sculptured arches. The floor is inlaid with lapis-lazuli, amber, carnelian, and jasper. The doors, an assemblage of silver, rosewood, teakwood and ivory, are veritable works of art.

Then, it is the banqueting hall, followed by a suite of halls, the armoury, the portrait gallery.

Lastly, we come to the Hall of Caskets. A superb collection of boxes of ebony, sandalwood, sculptured and inlaid with gold, silver, turquoise, and with a whole gamme of precious stones. They are of all sizes. In my mind there looms the image of the old treasure casket glimpsed long ago in the sombre little shop of Oriental curios far away over there in a Western town beside the great sails of the sea.... In this palace, before my eyes are displayed all these marvellous treasure boxes—the passing fancy of a Maharajah dwelling in a fairy palace in the heart of India.

We leave these halls, each one more sumptuous than the other, and pass into the courts, full of silence and coolness, where at sunrise the sacred bulls and elephants come to roam. From them, we enter enchanted and fragrant

gardens where roses marry with giant cannas.

Far away, commanding the town and the palace, is the Hill of the goddess Chamoundi, she who watches over Mysore.

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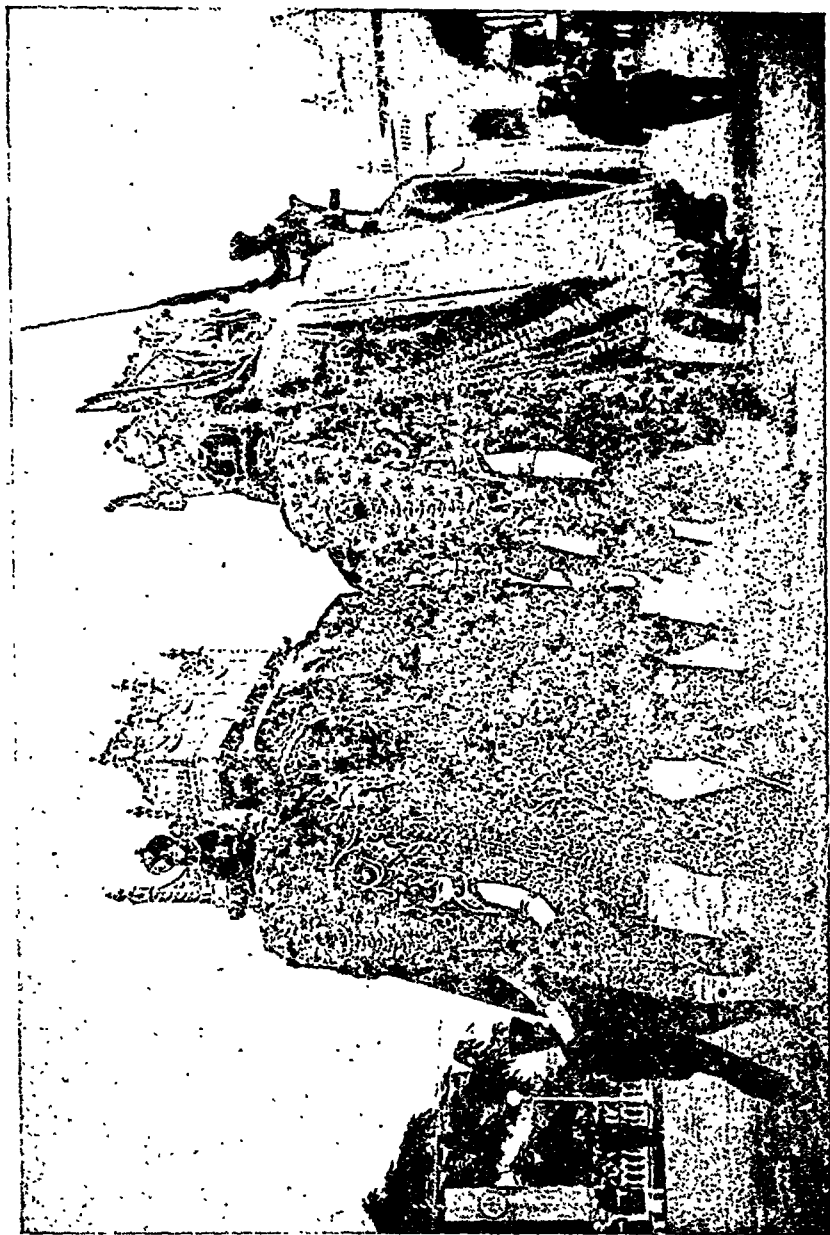
At five o'clock in the evening, our friend the Brahman comes to look for us at our hotel. With him we drive by car to the royal palace, from where the procession will start. We make our way with difficulty through the crowds, already very dense. Under a sky, green-orange, like translucent nacre, the palace, glowing with the lustre of the setting sun, seems almost unreal in its splendour so heavy with wealth.

With our friends, we proceed to the offices of Agriculture, situated in the exterior environs of the palace. We find there other Hindu guests: men turbanned, dressed in their ceremonial costumes, white trousers fitting closely from the knee, long black redingote; women in saris, little girls with their spark of diamond set in one nostril of their tiny nose; young girls with garlands of jasmine in their hair, scented with sandalwood oil. All await the departure of the procession with tranquil joy. We have been given some privileged places from where to watch this dazzling display of an Oriental procession.

We look at the crowd which ceaselessly moves to and fro in the environs of the palace. It is an Indian crowd. There are the rich and the poor, Brahmans and "untouchables," poor pariahs ostracised by their brothers. Even the poorest have washed their clothing or their best sari. Over there, is an old woman, a very old grandmother. She still has a proud allure in her much-worn blue sari. She holds by the hand her little grand-daughter in a yellow sari. The child's beautiful eyes shine like carbuncles. There is no impatience in this crowd. But do not be deceived. It is not amorphous or insensible. Like all crowds, its human passions would need but to be aroused. Man is everywhere man.

Soon it is six o'clock. The molten rays of the setting sun have turned to violet and mauve. From the palace come the cavaliers which form the Maharajah's personal guard. They are going to line up on the square. Bandsmen of the little army play naive airs, sometimes warlike. They are dressed in a shirt and khaki knickers and on their heads are majestic turbans. Others have long red or green tunics. A breeze rises, making the banderol on each one flap. On each banderol, the ancient symbol of the swastika is designed. Now the dignitaries of the town assemble and await the arrival of the Maharajah. They are followed by servants carrying baskets filled with garlands of jasmine and roses. The cavaliers' horses paw the ground with impatience. Disdaining etiquette, they accomplish, in spite of all, their necessary needs. But attentive servants with willow baskets precipitate themselves behind the animals and, with their hands, fill their baskets with the normal residue of assimilated food. All must be perfectly clean, that is the order. The eyes of the sovereign must not rest on anything fouled.

A silence. Then, a hymn is heard. The procession moves forward in order to parade along the streets of the town. On magnificent horses, lancers open the march. The band follows them. Afterwards comes the personal guard of the Maharajah. With slow and swinging steps, a caravan of camels advances, their proud heads carried high as if to inhale the desert air; on them are mounted soldiers with long, white gaiters. More and more lancers with their martial allure. Then come the elephants of procession. They advance majestically from the palace all harnessed with precious stuffs, which however allow one to see the designs painted on their hide and trunk. The fires of the setting sun reflect in their gold harness and sparkle in the precious stones which form a diadem around their head. Two of them carry thrones of gold, magnificently sculptured; another, a gracious palanquin which sways gently as he walks. On the elephants closing the procession, officers are seated in gilded chairs, erect and



Pageantry at the Mysore Dasara





impassive, with long lances in their hands.

The crowd trills imperceptibly. Maharajah Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadour appears. He advances alone on his horse. His bearing is very noble and simple, that of a great gentleman. His fine face, adorned by a little moustache, is still young. His eyes are large and contemplative. He is dressed in a sumptuous *lame*' costume of green and gold. The procession stops. The dignitaries come forward to present their homage to their sovereign, while garlands of flowers are offered and rose petals strewn around the Maharajah. It is a vision of fastuous India, of India millenary. But towards him, simple and beautiful, ascend like precious incense, the love and respect of his people.

The procession, in deep silence, recommences its march. Behind the sovereign, follows his green and gold carosse drawn by four horses. This long line of legendary beings continues to parade along the avenues even when evening has fallen over the town en fête and torches and lights are kindled. In the distance, profiled against a star-spangled sky, the heights of Chamoundi Hill glow and the palaces of Mysore, the Charmeress, sparkle with all the fairy resplendence of the Arabian Nights.

While the crowd disperses, the faithful bring garlands of jasmine to the little temple of Ganesha. A Hindu priest lays them at the feet of the god, which one can just perceive in the gloom at the back of a little niche, among the flames of oil lamps. This priest is half naked; his head is shaved except for a strand of hair hanging from the back of his head; a dhoti enwraps his waist, his legs and feet being bare. He returns, carrying a copper plate containing flaming holy oil. The devotees each give their obole, of course, then touch the flame and receive the oil in the hollow of their hands, which they then carry to the centre of their forehead and to the top of their head.

But it is time to go and find the procession at Government House, where we shall again be the guests of the Maharajah. We meet the long file, which extends for

several miles, lighted with lanterns and torches. From the crowd come gay murmurs. We arrive just at the moment when the Maharajah dismounts from his horse in order to be received by the Dewan, the first Minister. Two giants, decorated with gold, mount guard at the foot of the staircase. The guests make a salute of honour to Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadour. He bows slowly and then passes through our midst in order to show himself in the salons of Government House. During this moment of rest, we go into the vast tents, lighted by electricity, where we are served with tea, pistachio ices, rose-flavoured cakes, cigars, and cigarettes.... Afterwards, in order to complete the fête, we go to the field of manoeuvres where the revue of honour is to be held.

Night, a vast quadrangle, hardly lighted. In the distance, the clinking of lances. Suddenly, the field, the tribune are illuminated by powerful projectors. In front of the tribune can now be seen a mass of Indian cavaliers, standards flying in the wind. An officer on horseback presents himself before the Maharajah's tribune. At a sign from the Monarch, a bugle sounds. The whole mass of horses begins to move and, little by little, it becomes an epic gallop. In the bright light of the projectors, the various-coloured uniforms, lances, harness, sparkle and glow like precious gems.

While the fête is terminating, I gaze for the last time at this crowd in the hot Indian night, these young Hindu girls with sprays of jasmine twined in their beautiful black hair, all faces turned towards the Maharajah in his long green tunic interwoven with gold, like a god, motionless, dreaming.....

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The following morning, we set out for Chamoundi Hill. We pass the Lalitha Mahal, the palace of guests, surrounded by immense flower gardens. We reach the base of the hill and the car speedily climbs the route which

zigzags upwards to the temple.

We come to a little wooded plateau where we have to leave the car. The sky is radiantly pure in this beautiful hot morning. A strong wind blows in the trees but does not succeed in troubling the deep peace which reigns in this place. At our feet extends the vast plain of Mysore, the town, the palaces. Behind us, on a small square, begins a large staircase made of steps of stone, mounting to the summit of the hill where it ends near the temple. We climb it, passing buffaloes descending peacefully. At two-thirds of the way up, on a terrace of earth we find ourselves before a colossal statue representing a Nandi-Bull, the sacred bull. He is in a sitting posture. His proportions are harmonious. Around the stone balustrade protecting him, some faithful are placing garlands of flowers. Without doubt, a blind adoration to a divinity of stone, but which should signify homage to the power that it represents, that is to say, generation under its two aspects—cosmic generation and human. It was the same with Apis in ancient Egypt.

A few moments later, we are before the temple dedicated to Chamoundi. It is our first contact with a Hindu temple. This one is not a large temple, like those of Madura, Tanjore, or Chidambaram, but what sweetness emanates from this modest little temple cloistered in palm trees! On the unique gopuram—a tower in the form of a pyramid—is sculptured, besides other divinities, goddess Chamoundi, painted in blue and yellow, the tutelary deity of the Maharajahas of Mysore. She represents, as do all the feminine Hindu deities, the *Shakti*, the occult power of god, one of the forces of nature which work in the invisible world.

We have not the right to enter the Temple, but we regard the coming and going of the pilgrims: people from the village around the temple or people from the plain. We see them traverse the temple courts and, at the back, between the rows of columns, disappear into the sanctuary. Above the temple, crows—the eternal crows of India—

wheel, cawing. They do not, any more than the wind, succeed in troubling the peace, the deep peace of the hill of Chamoundi.

We pass among the few houses of the poor village. From those who pass, kindly smiles greet us. A cow which we meet seems, she also, to welcome us with sympathy. Beasts, things, and people reflect what is *there*, in this sanctuary; what is there also, beyond time and men....

We had thought that some weeks later would begin our pilgrimage to the temples of the South, but we know now that it has already commenced on the hill of Chamoundi.

....In the evening, we climb again to the summit of Chamoundi Hill. A hot wind wafts to us faint noises from the town. Mysore is there, at our feet, in the faerie of its sparkling palaces, its fragrant gardens, its enchanting glory. This is the East. This is India, "tranquil and immutable," in the vertigo of the world; but it is also the India which advances always along the road of Time.

Goodbye, Mysore the Charmeress, Mysore with a name as sweet as honey! We shall come back to thee later on. We shall return to meditate in the shadow of the temple of Chamoundi the goddess.

## CHAPTER V

### THE MYSTERIOUS BLUE MOUNTAINS

**B**RAHMA having become enamoured of his own daughter, Ushas (the dawn), he took the form of a stag and Ushas that of a hind. Together they committed the first sin. Witnesses of this profanation, the gods were so terror-stricken that, taking by common accord their most frightful bodies, they procreated Buthavan, the spirit of evil, with the intention of destroying the incarnation of the first sin, committed by Brahmâ himself. But Brahmâ, recognising his guilt, repented bitterly and began to chant *mantrams* or prayers of purification, and in his grief he let fall a tear on the earth, the hottest tear that had ever fallen from his eyes. With this tear, the first sapphire was formed.

If sapphire there be in the vast, fragrant treasure house of India, it is the one sparkling with pure brilliance under the form of the Blue Mountains.

From the plain of Mysore, or from the district of Coimbatore, one can view these mountains, unreal almost, wrapped in silence and muslined in blue mists. One can survey them from no matter which point of the horizon, from the first range or from the summits, from dawn to dusk, these mountains are eternally blue, sometimes fringed with a gold dust.

"....*Mysterious mountains, Dwelling of unknown devas, Mountains of azure....*"

It says truly, the old song of the Malabar Coast. They are still full of mystery, these Blue Mountains, with their immense forests of eucalyptus that fill the air with their spicy aroma. If *Devas* (Nature spirits ) come to

frolic in their green glades, lit by the sun or the moon, they certainly bring with them the enchantment of colour and perfume.

The ascent to this Blue Eden is made in the "Blue Mountain Express," pompous name with which to designate the little mountain train, which the Swiss could almost envy for the hardness of its railway that mounts to the conquest of the summits by means of vertiginous viaducts and long tunnels. From the station of Mettupalaiyam to Ootacamund (Ooty in abbreviation), terminus of the Nilgiris railway (Nilgiris means Blue Mountains), it is about a three-hours' journey. Mettupalaiyam is a charming locality, hidden under exuberant tropical vegetation.

At the start of the ascent, one has a vision of palms, banana trees, bamboos, which, little by little, gives place to one of enormous eucalyptus trees. There are no partitions in the narrow coaches and, from our places, we can look at the usual spectacle of Indian trains: a crowd of Indians of both sexes, children, all chattering in the hot sun of a radiant June morning. The slopes of the Blue Mountains are steep and the puffing of the little engine gives us the opportunity to enjoy leizurely the beautiful views over the deep ravines where crystal sources sing, to look at the peaceful lakes, the waterfalls cascading from crevices in the rocks, the plantations of tea and coffee, and, on the railway banks, the lovely red patches of colour made by flowering *lantana*. As we ascend, the air becomes fresher. We put on our pullovers.

We come to Coonoor at an altitude of 5,600 feet, a hill station during the monsoon. After this halt, we clamber up the last steepes which lead to Ootacamund. Forests of eucalyptus and pines encircle us and refresh us with their pungent aroma. Brooks sing among the fragrant grass, enamelled with flowers, while on the azure of the sky is sketched in vague roundels the summits of the Blue Mountains. We catch a glimpse of a small lake and immediately afterwards is Ootacamund at 7,250

feet. The town is shelved on wooded steeps in an eternal springtime.

The luggage packed in, we start off by car for the bungalow, situated at some miles from Ooty. On this high plateau, the road, bordered on the right by high hills, follows the contour of the mountain which is covered with dense forests. On the left, the view is more spacious and extends over a range of mammiform hills, the summits of which are tufted with sparse eucalyptus slanted by the wind. We pass some carts harnessed with buffaloes. Then, the route enters the eucalyptus forest. An elbow bend, a wooden gate, an immense garden enclosed by huge dark-green trees and giant eucalyptus—it is the bungalow enveloped in silence.

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From the day after our arrival, a magnificent concert of birds awakens me at sunrise every morning. A *mali* (gardener) enters noiselessly to kindle the fire of great eucalyptus logs, from which exhales their wholesome odour. Mornings and evenings are cold at this altitude.

In the large garden which encircles the bungalow, there is nothing but a profusion of flowers: hortensias, fushias, giant geraniums, heliotrope, multi-coloured lions' mouths, verbenas, bushes of roses, all mingling their perfume with that of carnations, jasmine, mimosa, when it is in bloom (which will be in a month's time), and forming a floral splendour at an altitude of nearly 2,700 metres.

I climb on to a hillock behind the bungalow. There, I discover different neighbouring summits. Apart from the rustling of the wind in the trees, what a silence! Behind me is a nearly impenetrable forest, the haunt of chittas (a kind of leopard), and chacals, sometimes of tigers. Before me and below me, the tranquil bungalow from where blue smoke rises, the morning fires. In front of me, far away, the undulating wooded crests of mountains and in a gap, through a veil of blue muslin,



I think to glimpse the plain of Mysore and the hill of Chamoundi the goddess.

For some weeks, we roam the roads and narrow footpaths of the Blue Mountains. We make our way into the forests, we clamber to the summits, or we go to Ooty's Botanical Garden, a veritable earthly paradise, with its enormous lilies that can be found in the clefts of the mountains, its cedar trees, its lotus floating on the mirror-like surface of pools. The most various and most rare species of trees have been assembled there, as well as an infinite variety of fragrant flowers and shrubs.

We also pay some visits to the market of Ooty. This market is very amusing. In it are heaped vegetables of East and West, sumptuous fruits, from pineapples and mangoes to wild strawberries and juicy raspberries. In another corner of the market, all kinds of things are sold: rice, grains, spices, copper vessels.... We linger before the little shop of a young 12-year-old merchant, beautiful as a god, with a smile which would turn pale the most lovely of the Apsaras—daughters of pleasure in Indra's Paradise.

Further on, outside the market, is the bazaar, the eternal bazaar. At first we come to the little shop of the copper-smith, vibrating with the sound of light little hammers from which are born *aiguières* with slender, elegant shapes vases, cups, shining resplendently. Then comes the jeweller; he sells silver girdles, bracelets, earrings, pins for saris. The merchants sit on their heels on small mats. One with a white beard and a majestic turban has some little scales beside him where in which he weighs the silver girdles, turquoises, and sapphires from Ceylon.

In the animated street, a sound of music. It is a procession in honour of a god which is being carried with solemnity to the temple.

After these various diversions, towards evening, we wend our way back to the bungalow. It is the solemn hour, stirring, this one which passes each day just before twilight steals softly over everything, heralding the coming

of night. It is the hour when the setting sun spreads his mantle of fire and gold over the blue mists of the mountains. All is hushed, all will soon fall asleep. On the road, some buffaloes linger to graze wild plants. Then, from the darkening forest there rises a sound, a sound which grows and echoes through the ravines. It stops an instant, then begins again, louder. It comes nearer. It seems as if one hears sobs. It is the chacals' hour. At nightfall, they leave their repair in the forest and come in pack to the villages and solitary houses in search of food. It is better to go indoors. It is the chacals' hour, but it is also the hour of recollection. Doors and windows closed, one turns within oneself to recollect. Then, night comes over the mountains, night with sparkling stars, or night with a faerie moon, the majesty of which becomes more vivid when there passes the wind from the summits, the wind from the Blue Mountains....

An incident yesterday. During the course of the afternoon, while I was reclining on the hillock behind the bungalow and listening to the silence, I saw a tawny patch going noiselessly across the sloping field which borders the forest. I half raised myself. I did not realise exactly what was happening. Doubtless, an enormous dog! All at once, I guessed. It was a chitta which attacks cattle as well as man. It was fat, short, covered with thick, tawny fur. Turning its back, it trotted away towards the tangled undergrowth of the forest. As I was lying on the grass, sheltered by a bush, it had not seen me. It walked stealthily, with cat-like steps. On reaching the limit of the trees, it made a bound and disappeared.

This morning, I followed a narrow footpath in the forest. From time to time, I stopped to listen to the joyous little chant of the humming birds or to admire the views over the valleys. Suddenly, I had the presentiment that I was not alone, that there was someone not far from me. However, the silence, broken only by the songs of birds and the sharp little tapping on the trees of the woodpeckers, continued to be as profound. I

was thrilled. At a bend in the path, without a sound, a man of antique beauty appeared. He was walking barefooted, clad in a kind of Roman toga of undyed wool, with one end passing under his right arm and thrown over his left shoulder. In his hand, he carried a cane of carved wood, bearing strange inscriptions. He was tall and his features recalled the classic purity of the ancient Greeks. His long black hair fell almost over his eyes and into his neck, while a beard and a thick moustache framed his light-complexioned face. As he came nearer, I could see his eyes, great brown eyes reflecting blue and filled with a gentle regard that rested on me as he passed. He smiled with a childlike expression and, with his velvet steps, went on his way and disappeared in the forest.

A *Toda*. The thought leaped into my mind. I have just seen a *Toda*. From the moment of my return to the bungalow, I furnished myself with books from the library and buried myself in the study of this mysterious tribe of the Blue Mountains. During the days which followed, we visited some *Toda* villages situated on a wooded hill.

It is curious to note that, in spite of the millions of European residents who have sojourned in India, so little is known about the *Todas*. It is but a century ago, however, that two courageous English officers, while exploring this mountainous region of India, discovered a strange race quite distinct from other Indian tribes. The discovery appeared unbelievable at the time of which we speak. Fantastic stories circulated: it was said that a terrestrial paradise had been discovered, where ambrosial zephyrs caressed the exhausted travellers; a tribe of demi-gods reigned in the solitudes of the forests; the magicians of the country did not marry, nor did they die; among these beings were giants, as well as dwarfs; some of them performed miracles.

Although these statements were for the most part exaggerated, we must stress the fact that even today the *Todas* continue to be very mysterious. According to

information obtained from a good source and from my own personal observation, I am certain that the Nilgiris furnish material for reflection.

The number of Todas would appear to be limited. They are seen in groups of five or six at a time. All those whom we met were handsome and recalled to mind the statues of Phidias or of Praxiteles. The women, dressed in the same way as the men, are less beautiful and smaller. The Todas that can be seen at Ootacamund construct their dwellings in out-of-the-way places. These dwellings are composed of huts, semi-cylindric in form, established in circular excavations and surrounded by a low wall. The huts have no windows but simply a small opening through which the occupants have to crawl in order to enter the interior. In the dim light, against the wall opposite the entrance, can be seen a fireplace which serves for cooking food; on the right, a large slab of stone, raised, where all the family sleep; on the left, some utensils, a stool, some dusters, some clothing material. Although the Todas are not a nomadic tribe, they often change their place of residence in order to seek in the Nilgiris better pastures for their buffaloes.

From where do they come? What is their origin? In this respect, ethnologists are of different opinions, except on one point, that the Todas do not belong to ordinary humanity. It is undeniable that they descend from primitive races and even from prehistoric races. However, we must admit that there are Todas and Todas, that those ordinarily seen on the heights at Ootacamund, if they are Todas by birth, are not the purest specimens. The *real* Todas, it is said, have refuged themselves from the invasion of Westerners in inaccessible places of the Blue Mountains; in those vast spaces where there is still neither route nor village, where there reigns only the silence of solitudes.

It is to these pure, these real Todas, that must be attributed the extraordinary and supernatural side of their life. According to certain witnesses, the Todas

themselves maintain that they have absolute rights over the Blue Mountains, that they consider them to be their secular property. They possess very particular knowledge which proves their descent from very ancient races. They are, in truth, a patriarchal tribe living according to severe and high principles. Their writing is composed of signs resembling the cuneiform inscriptions of ancient Persia.

Their religion is infinitely purer than what some writers have wrongly described as "the adoration of sacred buffaloes." If the buffalo plays a role in their ceremonies, it is because there is a profound meaning in this, which is hidden from the vulgar, as we shall see.

Todas are divided into two distinct groups. The first group is composed of the class of the priests. These are vowed to the service of the buffaloes. They are bound to absolute celibacy and their cult is very *esoteric*; no profane has ever been able to discover it. The second group is formed of the ordinary class of laics. All efforts attempting to penetrate the secret of their language and their customs have been in vain. When they converse with other tribes or with foreigners, they employ the Kanari dialect.

Todas disdain jewels. They drink only pure milk, and eat no animal flesh whatever. No ferocious beast ever attacks a real Toda or devours any of his animals. They are the children of a chosen sect, set apart from their infancy for religious purposes.

As regards their moral life, it presents characteristics that our civilisation, called Christian, would do well to adopt. Todas love truth; they do not know how to lie. Stealing, misappropriation, is unknown to them. Christian missionaries in the Nilgiris have been so struck by their moral character that they have often given to their faithful, as example, the morality of the Todas. Besides this, they possess neither weapons nor knives. They have, then, resolved to their advantage the question of peace unarmed.

Something peculiar to their religion is that the word

"God" does not exist in it. They are, then, materialists? By no means. They refuse, simply, to accept the idea of an anthropomorphic God. In their religious and entirely secret ceremonies, which take place in a dwelling previously purified and illuminated by little lamps, their theurgy is allied to that ancient wisdom, called white magic, which is found in the very old Chaldean and Egyptian magic. Their learning, acquired by research and purity of life, serves humanitarian ends, as the healing of the sick. Todas are, then, idealists and spiritualists and believe in the survival of their interior being.

Yes, the Blue Mountains are singular. Mysterious are those beings who believe in truth and peace and who have for their dwellings solitude and silence. Enchanted mountains! You guard your secret. Perhaps it is better so. You let only your glories be seen; your proud and wild aspect when the mountains are lashed by monsoon winds, or your beauty glistening with light at the moment of fresh and dazzling dawns or of mystic sunsets draped in gold and blue. You let the laughing valleys be seen displaying their nonchalant grace, cradled by the humming of the iridescent colibris; the paths bordered with bushes of wild jasmine exhaling their pervasive perfume, while Toda buffaloes roam in the thickets in search of nourishment. But sometimes, along the flowering hedges or the dewy paths in the vast forests of eucalyptus and pines, from the stillness there come murmurs, mysterious and gentle whispers, a rustling in the leaves. Then, all fades into silence, there is nothing but the pure fragrant air from the summits. Blue Mountains! Strange land, where violets and lotus are neighbours, where Todas observe their religious and secular ceremonies in solitudes far from the whirlpool of life, while birds mingle their song with the sobs of chacals and the music of joyous cascades....

A dream, perhaps! Beauty certainly.



## **PART II**





## CHAPTER VI

### THE MESSAGE OF INDIA'S TEMPLES

**V**ERY early in the morning, in radiant weather, we set out on our pilgrimage to the Temples of the South.

Our car cautiously descends the route zigzagging down the steep slopes of the Blue Mountains. This evening, we shall arrive at Madura, at the famous temple that hundreds of thousands of pilgrims visit each year. It will be our first stage.

How blue the mountains are today, bluer than usual ! The air is full of a fragrance and the earth, everything, at this early hour breathes stillness. After two-and-a-half hours' descent, we find ourselves again amidst all the tropical vegetation of Mettupalaiyam. We leave behind us the beautiful chain of the Nilgiris which, little by little is receding in its muslin of blue mists. For hours and hours, we roll across the plains and villages of India. Palm groves bring us their freshness on the way. Far off, can be perceived here and there, a solitary hill crowned by a temple. We traverse a few small towns; one is Din-digul, with a name that tinkles like a bell. During our journey through this ever-moving panorama, we reflect upon the message of India's temples.

It has been said that certain places of pilgrimage can be centres of spiritual force from where radiate ennobling influences, not perceived by the hurrying traveller.

It is a certain fact that, although some gross superstitions are born from this custom of making pilgrimages, nevertheless, pilgrimages to places really holy symbolize the life of man, not only from the cradle to the grave, but also, say the Scriptures of India, embrace the immense

period of Man's evolution. Nations, races, civilisations are born, grow to maturity, become old and die, but the Being within survives. Emanating from the Great All, Man accomplishes his pilgrimage of evolution, garners innumerable experiences in the course of ages, and pursues without ceasing his great voyage towards the sanctuary from where he issued forth.

Some authors affirm, even, that in India at certain places of pilgrimage, there dwells one of those Wise Ones always ready to help the pilgrim who goes there with a sincere heart. However that may be, it is good perhaps to remind ourselves that a place of pilgrimage symbolizes our own nature, our own interior shrine. The ancient Hindu Gurus had, we are told, an esoteric knowledge of the links which unite Man to Nature and they communicated this knowledge to the masses by means of the architecture of the temples. The temple of flesh, said these Wise Ones, has a strict analogy to the temple of stone. A Hindu temple must, then, be the symbolical dwelling of the Supreme Principle which is within us; Principle from where we come and where we shall return. The choice of a rock, a hill, a tower (*gopuram*), conveys the idea of eternity; the great mast at the entrance of the temple represents the creative principle in the human organism; the temple court, the human lungs. In the centre is the Holy of Holies, the heart. In the same way, the symbolism of number which we find in architecture has its correspondences in the body of Man. Seven represents the seven orifices of the head, the seven primitive humanities, the seven worlds....

The Divinities of the Hindu Pantheon sculptured on the *gopurams* or on the walls of the temple, whether they have for name Brahmâ, Vishnu, or Shiva, and their spouses, the *Shakti* of each god, symbolize the action of the powers of Nature in man.

Figures of animals, equally, play an important role in the temples of India. Horses represent the senses; the chariot is the mind, always in movement; elephants symbolize the earth, the material body; the *Naga* (serpent),

wisdom; the celestial swan, *Garuda*, which devours the serpent, is the cycle of evolution which liberates man from the manacles of matter. While the lotus, the sacred flower, is identified with man himself: the roots which plunge in the mud, representing matter; the stem which passes through the water, symbolizing man's emotions and passions; the flower which opens to the sun being man's soul opening to the realities of the spiritual life.

Those are some of the ideas contained in the message of India's temples. Message which we are going to try to discern during the course of our pilgrimage. Naturally, we shall have to brush aside the thick brambles of superstition in order to see the supreme realities. Behind the stones, the columns, and the figures, resides the true temple, invisible, the interior Sanctuary where shines the everlasting Flame of the One Absolute, the Divinity.

Let us try to act as true pilgrims; that is to say, as seekers in quest of Truth. Let us rend, if we can, the curtain of illusion, *Maya*.

....Over there, on the horizon, towers in the form of pyramids are profiled against the pure, blue sky, above the green fronds of palms and white houses half-hidden under trees. It is Madura and its temple.

## CHAPTER VII

### EVENINGS AT MADURA, AN ENTRANCING VISION OF THE GODS

**T**HE sun has sunk behind the horizon in a green-orange sky. Palms and coco palms, swayed by the breeze of the short twilight, are coloured with the same tint, while the copper of the earth becomes more ardent. Herds of cows and buffaloes plod home to their stables with slow and ponderous steps. In thatched huts, women prepare the frugal evening meal. Lights light up under the great palms and little lamps in bazaar shops twinkle brightly.

The thousand-and-one noises of a Hindu town can be heard: a chant intoned by a woman's voice; the temple bell calling to prayer; the hammering of the copper-smiths; the click-clack of the tongues of the tonga drivers; the rippling laugh of a child; the crunching of the wheels of a sugarcane barrow; the hooting of owls; the barking of a dog; a dispute between monkeys.... All these sounds float through the hot night.

Far off, in the silent shining of the moon, soar the towers, the *gopurams*, of the great temple of Madura, dedicated to Shiva—one of the most important gods of the Hindu Pantheon—and to Minakshi, his spouse. The atmosphere of the temple pervades the town; it is felt everywhere.

The temple, built in the Dravidian style, stands in the heart of the city. It dates from the 16th century. In its enclosure the Palace of Versailles would find itself at ease. The glory of Madura reaches back to a remote antiquity. Here formerly radiated a great centre of culture. The temple is an immense quadrangle divided into

two principal sanctuaries: one dedicated to Shiva and the other to Minakshi. They are united by a labyrinth of enormous galleries, courts, a sacred tank, some *mantapams* (covered halls of which the stone roof is supported by columns), while hundreds of statues stand on all sides, the whole being crowned with several *gopourams* richly sculptured, an entrancing vision of brahmanic gods.

On the threshold of the temple, we take off and leave our shoes; we shall find them again. For no one may enter the sacred precincts unless he has first removed his shoes or sandals. We simply keep on our socks, it will be cleaner.

From the moment of our entrance into the first gallery, our glance falls upon the merchants squatting on the ground (the eternal "sellers in the temple"). They sell baskets of fruit, garlands of jasmine and roses for offerings to the divinities, and innumerable other objects. We pass on and enter the maze of galleries. In dark corners, the statues of the gods and goddesses, standing in the most various attitudes, are rendered more remarkable by the dim light of the oil lamps. There are some sculptures representing the birth of Minakshi, the goddess with eyes like those of a fish. Although the feminine aspect (the *Shakti*) of the god Shiva is generally represented under the name of Parvati or of Kali, here she is named Minakshi. Minakshi is not an official goddess of the Hindu Pantheon but rather a divinity of the village, so greatly venerated that she has survived in the devotion of the faithful. Then, continuing our pilgrimage among the gods, we come to the marriage of Minakshi with Shiva, followed by the birth of their son, Subramanyam. Further on, is a statue of their other son, Ganesha, the god whose head is like that of an elephant.

We step out now into a spacious interior court bathed in the silver of the moon. Under a light roof, a crowd of listeners is seated on the ground and listening to the descriptive recitation in Sanskrit of passages of the *Ramayana*, which are immediately translated into Tamil.

All, men and women, follow mentally the peripetiae of the heroes of this great epic.

After crossing the court, we penetrate once more into the sombre galleries of the temple. How impressive are the great, tall, sculptured pillars in the dim, flickering light of the lamps ! Along these monumental galleries, one perceives among the shadows a little shrine to a god or a goddess, a *lingam* in black stone, representing the creative force in Nature.

Suddenly, we come out into the clear, cloudless night, before a vast pool mirroring the stars. Steps of stone descend towards the still waters. It is the sacred tank of the Gold Lotus. Under the surrounding arcades, pilgrims are lying on the stone slabs, sleeping. One meets them everywhere, these immobile forms, enveloped in white shawls; they are in all the galleries. Other pilgrims, even at this late hour, are still plunged in deep meditation. There are also some who recite *mantrams* in a low voice. All calm in the company of the gods.

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Morning has come. We can see now the temple in its immense proportions. Around the red-hued *gopurams* clouds of crows are wheeling and saluting with their raucous caw-caws the radiant dawn of day. In the interior courts, sacred elephants, led by their keepers, pace majestically towards their daily bath. These brave animals serve to carry the divinities in the various processions. They are nearly as much venerated as Ganesha, the god of wisdom, who, having lost his head, replaced it by the head of an elephant.

This morning, a powerful and prodigious activity throngs the temple. In the Daedalian network of endless galleries, although obscure even in daylight, one can distinguish better the lofty columns with their multiplicity of sculptures, the statues, and the bas-reliefs where the great epics of the gods since the formation of worlds are narrated in stone. We walk amongst the gods. Here, it is

Brahmâ, Vishnu. There, Shiva and Minakshi, or Parvati; then, the two goddesses, Lakshmi and Saraswati, the former presiding over the cult of Beauty and Prosperity, the second, the goddess of esoteric Wisdom. In a very dark corner, we find ourselves before the shrine of the Nine Planets, where garlands of freshly-gathered flowers have been laid. Then is seen the sacred Nandi, the bull, symbol of reproduction, encircled by a grille and canopied by a massive cupola of sculptured stone. What exuberance there is in these sculptures! The silent contemplation of a god neighbours with the choir of *Gandharvas*, celestial musicians of Indra's court, who reveal to mortals the secrets of Heaven and Earth and the harmonies of esoteric science; they are also the guardians of the sacred plant, *Soma*, whose juice possesses occult properties. Or, it is the dance of the Apsaras, water nymphs of radiant beauty; or again, the battle against Mara the demon and his legions, personifications of man's vices: the eternal war between spirit and matter. All the heroes of the *Mahabharata* are there, represented on the walls and pillars under the most varied forms, in a movement and an art of extraordinary power.

At the end of a gallery, a splendour floods over us. It is the tank of the Gold Lotus, glinting now with the sun's dazzling gold. On the stone steps, a dense crowd of pilgrims: *sannyasis*, ascetics of India; mendicant friars in their yellow robes, all with brilliant eyes, long hair, and thick beards, and wearing on their breasts necklaces of amber or *tulsitt* beads. Some of them are drying themselves after their ablutions, others are going to prostrate themselves before Minakshi, Shiva, Ganesha, or to meditate at the foot of a column. They have come from far, very far, from the centre or the North of India, from the confines of the Himalayas. All this crowd of men, women, children, go noiselessly from one sanctuary to another, bathe in the sacred pool, listen to the prophesies of an astrologer or to the lessons of a guru, a spiritual guide. The sanctuary receiving all the favours is that of Minakshi. She listens graciously, it is said, to all sincere wishes. One should see these long



files of people, clothed in white garments or in gay-coloured saris, carrying on copper trays their offerings to the goddess: some fruit, coconuts, garlands of flowers. They are surprising to watch, these pilgrims, above all the poor, those who have nothing but who hope.... In silence, simply, without haste, with their supple steps they enter the gallery leading to the sanctuary of Minakshi or of Shiva and after some moments they return, happy, peaceful, their hope replenished.

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Evening has come round again, and with it our wonderment is renewed. Oh! the evenings at Madura, how instinct they are with mighty philosophy behind the curtain of illusion.

A nocturnal life commences in the temple, distinct from that of the day. Groups of pilgrims cluster in the galleries or under the arcades around the sacred tank of the Gold Lotus. One hears calm conversations, tales of pilgrimages, discussions on the Scriptures, advice given by those who are believed to be gurus. Other pilgrims isolate themselves on the threshold of a sanctuary, under the sculptured figure of a god. In the silence, swarms of bats sweep along the galleries in a whirring of wings, brushing the lingams and the gods.

Suddenly, from one of the galleries there floats strange music, composed of tom-toms, cymbals, flutes, and long clarionets. It precedes a long, impressive procession of women, young Hindu girls, dressed in saris, yellow, red, or blue, with sprigs of jasmine twined in their hair; then come ascetics, naked to the waist, wearing long, dingling necklaces around their emaciated necks. Brahmans follow, wearing the sacred thread of their caste, and chanting *mantrams*. It is the god, Shiva, who is carried each evening, amidst great pomp to the dwelling of his spouse, Minakshi. The god, on a palanquin hung with glowing red draperies, is borne on the shoulders of young Brahmans. The procession advances among the sculptured pillars under

the eyes of the gods and, little by little, winds away into the distance towards the mysterious sanctuary of the goddess, while within the temple all grows still, all sinks into silence. Amid the quivering flights of bats, sannnyasis keep vigil, watching ever in contemplation and Madura falls asleep in the shelter of its gods and goddesses. But over all the stars sparkle with ardent brilliance in a nearly azure sky.

Shiva, Minakshi ! What grand symbols are enshrined in dead letters and temple stones ! Shiva, the Fire of life, is the Creator and the Destroyer, but he is also the Regenerator. He regenerates Man who journeys along the road of life. This is the reason why Shiva is represented as the Patron of all ascetics. And Minakshi, she who grants all favours, the goddess with eyes like those of a fish, she also has a legend. An ancient belief says that the female fish has but to look at her eggs in order that they become fecund. In the same way, devotees of Minakshi say that when Shiva turns his eyes towards the adorers of the goddess, immediately the spiritual life is born in them. What then is the mysterious bond which unites Shiva to Minakshi for such a spiritual fecundation to be produced ? Minakshi is the feminine aspect of Nature, the *Shakti*. She is the link between man and the highest aspect of life. She is the energy of the gods. Shiva himself is the living Fire of Spirit in each being; Minakshi is the energy of Shiva. Seeing that these different deities represent universal forces at work, not only in Nature but also in every being, we can easily imagine what Hindu philosophy has always taught: in essence, man is divine. The purpose of evolution is to find, by our own efforts, the divine power of life in ourselves. As said Pythagoras, who came to India in search of knowledge, "Man must first become a man and afterwards a god."

Oh ! pilgrims to Madura, or to other shrines, while your ascetics are keeping vigil in the immense temple, could you but realise in your inner life, not only the selfish dream of a *Swarga*, a personal paradise, but the victory of

Spirit over Matter ? You would thus show to the men of all nations, victims of the vertigo of the world, that at the heart of life there dwells a Unique Power which brings to birth the law of brotherhood, the Brotherhood of Men.

How grand is the lesson of the evenings at Madura !

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE TEMPLE OF RAMESHWARAM IN THE MORNING

**A**T the extreme South of India is a little island, joined to the mainland by an iron bridge which crosses an arm of sea. It is Rameshwaram, the spot where the Gulf of Bengal mingles its waters with those of the Indian Ocean.

A glorious sun splendours the temple, while a strong wind blowing from Ceylon swings the coco palms. Quite near, the Ocean, as green and beautiful as an emerald, chants its eternal poem.

On this clear morning, the temple of Rameshwaram offers to the pilgrims a procession in honour of Rama and Sita, the heroes of the *Ramayana*. Leading the procession is a youth mounted on a poney and drumming with batons on two big tom-toms attached to his saddle. Two sacred elephants follow, adorned with flowing draperies. After them come shrines of gold on stately palanquins containing the statues of Ganesha, Subramanyam, and lastly those of Rama and Sita, borne on the shoulders of men. A band, composed of long clarionets, flutes, cymbals, tom-toms, plays with syncopated rhythm. Then, closing the march come Brahmans hand in hand chanting *mantrams*, versets of ancient invocations. On the road which surrounds the temple, amid the screeching of parrots and the cawing of crows, the crowd hastens with devotion to render homage to the gods, to Rama and Sita. From time to time, the procession stops. Before the houses, brahman priests present the sacred fire on a copper plate and break a coconut that has been previously blessed in the temple; the milk is then spilled over the threshold of the dwelling where

garlands of flowers are designed in white or ochre powder.

What touching poetry, to see on the thresholds of their homes these women, these young girls, wearing on them, perhaps, all their fortune in bracelets of copper, silver, or gold, sprigs of jasmine entwined in their glossy hair; men of all ages; gracious children; all these beings lifting their joined hands to their foreheads in sign of respect and reverence! In the glowing sun, the lofty mass of the temple rises with its finely sculptured *gopurams*. Nearby, the sea is breaking over the sand in spray, irised by the thousand fires of the sun.

Here, we are in one of the most revered sanctuaries of India, founded, according to tradition, by Rama himself. The temple is one of the most beautiful specimens of Dravidian architecture. Its origin dates back to the 12th century. It is blended with the spiritual atmosphere that radiates from the history of Rama and his chaste spouse, Sita. When we enter the temple, we recall that the *Ramayana* is one of the greatest epic poems of the world and that, correctly understood, it leads us, scholars tell us, to an understanding of the evolution of humanity.

*"Divine poem, ocean of milk!"*

cried Michelet on discovering this ancient Scripture. The *Ramayana* shows us also, in the story of Rama and Sita, the ideal of human love, love which is inspired by the noblest ideas.

The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* have touched many Western hearts; nevertheless, those epic poems which contain so much truth, when translated into our modern languages, fail unfortunately, to influence intimately the lives of people. In India, on the contrary, there is scarcely a Hindu family or dwelling where the divinity of Rama and of Krishna are not adored; where the chastity of Sita or of Draupadi is not extolled; or where the courage of Hanuman—the monkey-god who aided Rama to vanquish his enemies—is not a subject of conversation. These heroes, for Hindus, are living personages, as are those of the Gospel

for Christians, modelling, kneading India's thought, even in our modern times of upheavals and violence, and it is they, these heroes, who preserve perhaps, or who help to preserve, the glory of ancient Aryavarta in the India of today.

The history of Rama and Sita brings us numerous and precious lessons. None is greater than that of the creation of a "home" from an ideal model. Political men of India, at least certain of them, consider with respect what they call the *Ram-Raj*, the reign of Rama. And the Hindu, as also every other individual, must learn that no government can be really strong, no society can be harmonious, if they are not based on the true domestic "home," where reigns the justice of Rama, where flowers the fidelity, tact, and delicacy of Sita; a home where the undying love of our heroes serves as a guide and a light. Why did Rama accept exile? Why did Sita, his spouse, follow him? Why did Lakshmana, Rama's brother, accompany them? It was not for political reasons, but for the honour of the family to which they belonged. The *Ramayana* brings, then, this message, not only to Hindus, but also to all men. Without a moral basis, the "home" crumbles into ruins; and disorder, as well as anarchy, overcomes the state in which the "home" is destroyed or corrupted.

These few thoughts show us very well what could be the fragrance of an inner life. And it seems that this fragrance floats through the temple of Rameshwaram and over the sweet city. When one wanders under the palms on the beach, when one roams through the vast, celebrated orange galleries of the temple, colour heightened by the morning sun, when one sits on the edge of the sacred tank in the laughing sunlight, when one passes by the spot where Sita emerged victorious from the test of fire to which she submitted in order to convince her husband of her purity, or when one lingers beside the cool source where Rama washed his hair after his victory over the demon Ravana, then one feels deeply this special atmosphere which is an invitation to make a solemn journey, a pilgrimage towards the centre of oneself: an invitation to live a *true*

life, simple and pure, enriched by learning, the life taught to us by the exalted example of Rama and Sita.

We think that for the pilgrim who accomplishes a pilgrimage to the temple of Rameshwaram—pilgrim, we suppose, freed from religious dogmas and superstition—the example of Rama and Sita may help him to formulate some sort of interior wish. He will feel that his life should be in harmony with the life of all, that it should possess this inner refinement, without which it is impossible to discern the cause, even, of life, the heart of Nature, which is beatitude as said Gautama the Buddha. We can develop this refinement, not only in the great events of life, but also in the least little deeds of our daily life. Could we not incarnate, ever so little, the infinite purity of Sita, her grace, her devotion, her fidelity, her sacrifice, her heart, inspirer of heroic actions? And as actions are, in general, but the reflections of our thoughts, could we not—to give but one illustration—when offering flowers to a friend, avoid inhaling their perfume, so that he may have that privilege? Little detail, one will say. Agreed. Little detail, if you like. But the small deeds of life, when they are inspired by lofty sentiments, are they not the seeds of an inner life richer, more *civilised*, so to say? Every civilisation which is not based on the culture of the spirit is doomed to perish in brutality and blood.

Oh! Rama and Sita, noble human heroes, you who give the example of a sublime spiritual ideal, in your atmosphere of peace and infinite tenderness there reigns a hope, the hope of the regeneration of humanity through the understanding of these ancient symbols and by their realisation in the inner lives of men.

A sweet remembrance of a luminous morning spent in the Temple of Rameshwaram may kindle in us an aspiration to possess the secret of veritable love.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE ROCK OF GANESHA, THE LAND OF BHARATA, THE AVATARS OF VISHNU

**I**T is a long distance from Rameshwaram to Trichinopoly. A day-and-a-half's rolling along the routes of India. We shall sleep tonight at Tiruppattur.

Very early in the morning, before starting, we hasten to bid farewell to the sweet city of Rama. Great boats full of pilgrims are sailing on the sea this morning. We go once more through the vast orange-coloured galleries of the temple. We sit for an instant on the edge of the sacred tank and we think of Sita, of her prodigious adventures, while the Singhalese wind gently sways the palm trees.

At the station, we find a young Hindu belonging to the Kshattriya caste, whom we had met in the temple. He has come to say goodbye to us, his eyes brimful of tears at having to leave his new friends.

While waiting for the train, we look at the Hindu travellers. This spectacle never loses its interest for us. There they are on the platform in little groups, seated on the ground beside their metal trunks which contain, doubtless, all their fortune, for they are always closed with padlocks. One never knows what may happen ! (I have never in my life seen so many padlocks !) They chat to each other while eating their curry on banana leaves. Where are they going ? To where do all these eternal travellers in India go ?

The train carries us away. In the distance, beside the emerald ocean, can be seen through the shimmering hot air the profile of the *gopuram* above the temple. We cross over the arm of sea by the iron bridge and then again



it is almost desert country until we reach Ramnad, a pretty and ancient little town, where we rejoin our car.

We have to travel over part of the route which we followed on going to Rameshwaram, route which traverses beautiful plains of palms. Here and there are ancient wells which serve to irrigate the paddy fields. Then calm villages with thatched roofs file past, as well as herds of goats and buffaloes. Pastoral visions of ancient times.

At Tiruppattur, where we arrive at sunset, we discover a *dak-bungalow* on the border of the fields. It is pretty, this travellers' cottage, with its colonial veranda and its nice, large rooms. While waiting for our frugal supper, which Ragwan, our diligent and devoted *boy*, has gone to fetch from the village, we visit the small temple dedicated to Shiva. Some Brahmans welcome us kindly and, curious thing, they are delighted to learn that we are pilgrims from France. A little village, hidden in the depths of British India, which loves France! It warms the heart and also stirs up many souvenirs....historical.

After our meal, we saunter for a short distance along the route in the splendid Indian night, regal in its magnificent jewellery of stars. A few moments later, we are lulled to sleep by the crickets' ceaseless song.

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A swarming and abundant bazaar; a thronging of human lives; peaceable cows which steal without compunction, here a fruit, there a vegetable; tongas drawn by lively ponies trotting rapidly past; an intense heat; it is the principal street leading to the Rock of Ganesha, the temple of Trichinopoly, which is there at the end of the street, on the summit of a rock 260 feet high.

Certain inscriptions in the temple place the date of its origin as far back as the 7th century. While we are climbing the hundreds of steps that lead up to the galleries and sanctuaries, we are approached by a Hindu journalist, correspondent of a well-known Madras journal. He has read my articles published in this paper. He knew that we

should come here one day. He puts himself at our service to show us the temple. Marvellous! News travels fast in India.

At the entrance of the temple—after the ceremony of the removal of our shoes—we find our old and touching friend, Ganesha, the son of Shiva and Minakshi. As one is supposed to do, I greet him by murmuring: "Ganesha seeks his spouse." Pathetic and lovable Ganesha! In this sanctuary, Ganesha is endued with a particular importance, for the temple is dedicated to him. Only here he is named Ganapati. We find him everywhere, in all the galleries.

He is lovable, this Ganesha. The first son of Shiva and Minakshi, he is adored in a special and touching way. He is the only one among the gods who has no wife. When the time came for him, at the command of his parents, to take a wife, he answered that he would only choose for wife she who should be comparable to his mother, Minakshi. So his mother said to him: "Then go, my son, and seek for her thyself." But the centuries pass and Ganesha never finds the one who is comparable to his mother. That is the reason why, at the door of all the temples, one sees the statue of Ganesha looking attentively at the procession of passing pilgrims. And they say to him, when saluting him "Ganesha seeks his wife."

The devotees of this sanctuary believe that the rock is one of the peaks of the fabulous Mount Meru, the legendary mountain whose base rests, symbolically, in the centre of the earth and which is the dwelling of the greatest among the gods and devas (spirits of Nature). Some authorities say that this mountain exists, as yet undiscovered, among the heights of the Himalayas. In Vedic times, Mount Meru was the land of happiness. Others think—in accord with the esoteric teaching of the Puranas—that Mount Meru is united with the "Imperishable land," the "White Island," which was situated in Central Asia at the time when the Gobi Desert was a vast ocean. At the present day, certain rumours say that this Isle still exists

under the form of an oasis surrounded by the vastnesses of the great desert. This "Imperishable Land," it is said, is united to the *Atma* in each man, the spirit. It is from this sacred land, from this "White Island," that all the *Avatars* of Vishnu—the second person of the Hindu *Trimurti*—have issued, the great Sages of pure heart, of infinite compassion. A Tibetan tradition even goes so far as to say that it is the only terrestrial spot which will never be destroyed, either by fire or by water, but will remain for ever sheltered from men, the barbarians. . . . These profound Puranic speculations in the temple of Ganesha may invite us to study more attentively the history of humanity, the *real* history, that of its origin and of its progress.

At the summit of the rock, we find a sanctuary containing a statue of Ganesha. From the gallery which encircles it, one has a splendid view over the town of Trichinopoly and the meanders of the Cauvery, the holy river. However, without intending anything detrimental to our good Ganesha, we must say that we do not find here the atmosphere of Madura or of Rameshwaram. On this rock, the atmosphere is heavy, suffocating, the remains probably of ancient and actual superstitions. Nevertheless, the spiritual gifts of Ganesha can always be obtained. But note ! He promises nothing to those who do not make an effort to obtain them. It is just, after all. Ganesha is wise, even in his perpetual search for a wife possessing the richest gifts of love, tenderness, wisdom, and sacrifice. . . .

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From the Rock of Ganesha, we go to the temple of Jambukeshwaram, dedicated to the great god Shiva, which is situated about a mile from the Rock. This is a beautiful temple encircled by palm trees. It dates, approximately, from the eleventh century. It possesses some beautiful galleries with richly sculptured pillars. In the dimness of these galleries swarm enormous bats, which hang like sacks from the ceiling. Sometimes, a noise disturbs their

slumber, then it is a whirring of wings under the sonorous vaults.

Jambukeshwaram is a double name. Jambu is the name of a tree. The jambu is much grown in India and is a beautiful tree with purple flowers, commonly called the "Ironwood tree." The other name is *Ishwara*, God manifested, the Logos of the Platonists, the Divine Spirit in all beings. It is also a title given to Shiva.

Moreover, here before us are two bas-reliefs, one representing the tree Jambu, the other Shiva with his feminine aspect who in this temple is named Parvati. A great charm reigns in these galleries and around the sacred tank girdled by columns. A Brahman offers us some pretty garlands of carnations, a very fragrant souvenir of this temple in which lives a deep sentiment of attachment to India, *the Mother*.

In fact, India owes to the tree Jambu her old name of ancient times which is mentioned in the *Vishnu Purana*: *Jambu-dwipa*. The sage, Parashara, says in this scripture that the earth is composed of seven continents and seven seas, *Jambu-dwipa* being in the centre of these seas.

*"It is from the tree jambu that the island-continent called Jambu-dwipa derives its name."*

Another name was also given to India, spoken of in the *Vishnu-Purana*, it was the name of one of her first Aryan kings: *Bharata-varsha*, the land of Bharata.

*"Bharata consigned the kingdom to his son, Sumati, and passed the remainder of his life in the sacred place of Salagrama; he was reborn afterwards as a Brahman in a distinguished family of ascetics... Under these princes (Bharata's descendants) Bharata-varsha was divided into nine portions and their descendants held successively possession of the country for seventy-one periods of the aggregate of the four ages,"*

representing the Great Cycle, the *Mahayuga*. Then, the *Vishnu-Purana* outpours this sentiment of veneration and

adoration for India, the Mother, in moving terms:

*"In Jambu-dwipa, Vishnu (let us remember that Brahmâ Vishnu, Shiva are, in reality, but one) is the object of the cult composed of sacrifice; moreover, he is adored in a diversity of ways. The land of Bharata is thus the best of the divisions of Jambu-dwipa because it is the land of actions; the other divisions being but lands of pleasure. It is only after many thousands of births and after the accumulation of abundant merits that living beings are sometimes born in the form of men in the land of Bharata (India). The gods themselves exclaim: 'Happy are those who are born in the land of Bharata, although they thus lose their rank among the gods, because to be born in that land is to enter the path which leads to the joys of paradise or to the still great happiness of final liberation.'"*

How could one not be grateful to the temple of Jambukeshwaram for recalling to our minds the privilege of being born in *Bharata-varsha*, the land of India. Hindus are very privileged people! But within this privilege dwells the solemn and noble duty of guarding the precious gift received.

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After the temple Jambukeshwaram, there remains to be undertaken a pilgrimage to the great temple of Shrirangam, which is situated on an island in the middle of the waters of the Cauvery, where the great thinker Ramanuja lived.\*

This temple is a prodigious assemblage of porticos, *gopurams*, *mantapams* (halls of which the stone roof is supported by colonnades), and celebrated galleries. In these galleries, one sees horses rearing with the hoofs of their forefeet reposing on the fists of bold warriors or on the heads of tigers with panting flanks, portrayed with

\* Ramanuja, "the prince of ascetics," was one of the famous exponents of the Vedanta.

a movement of remarkable power. In one of the courts, the enormous chariot in wood, which serves for processions, is literally covered with deities, carved with an incomparable art. Then, there is the hall of a thousand pillars, with sanctuaries here and there. Notwithstanding all this grandeur, one can see that the construction of this temple has been accomplished over a long period of time, under the direction of various different kings, and this mars the symmetry of its structure. From the terrace of the temple, the view embraces this incongruous architecture, dominated by the great *gopurams* where hundreds of gods and goddesses are shelved. Flocks of parrots make a great din on the mouldings on the walls.

When we redescend into the galleries, we find our familiar heroes. Everywhere, on the yellow and red pillars, on the walls, in obscure corners, are seen Rama and Sita, the Well-beloved; Lakshmana and Hanuman, the monkey-god. They are all there, with Arjuna and Lakshmi, the wife of Vishnu. In the central nave, on the second row of pillars, the ten incarnations on this earth of Vishnu are represented under the form of great *Avatars*.

Vishnu is a great god in Hindu philosophy. But, as one of the Puranic Scriptures says: "Some adore Brahmâ, Vishnu, others Shiva. However, let not the devotee make any difference between the three." All three are One and are the energies, the forces of the Absolute Divinity, Brahma, without a circumflex accent. Brahmâ, with a circumflex accent, being the manifestation of the former in Time.

Vishnu, called the Preserver, is often represented reposing on the serpent of eternity, *Sesha*, the symbol of infinite Time in Space. He contains the germ of the universe and projects it periodically. During these periods of cosmic activity, represented under the name of Day of Brahmâ—the Night of Brahmâ signifying the repose during the dissolution of the worlds—Vishnu sends a projection of himself into the body of a being worthy of representing this high manifestation of the Divinity. By this

projection, he is able to help men to free themselves from *Maya*, earthly illusion, so that they may enter the realm of *Sat*, Truth. Such is the very profound theory of *Avatars*: a man having become superhuman by his own efforts and thus capable of being overshadowed by the Spirit of the Divinity.

And there, before our eyes, are represented the ten Avatars of Vishnu, among whom are Rama, Krishna, Gautama the Buddha, and Kalki-Avatar. This last one is yet to come, at the end of our Black Age, *Kali Yuga*, the Age of Iron. The Avatar Kalki will not appear on the stage of this world until mankind is ready to receive him. He will be the incarnation of the highest divine qualities. When? The answer is hidden in our hearts. All that we can do is to elevate ourselves without ceasing towards that which is the most sacred in us, "the Father who is there in the secret place," the impersonal and omnipresent Divinity, who is indicated in this admirable verse of the *Vishnu-Purana* which the Vishnuists chant in their religious ceremonies:

*"Glory to Thee (Vishnu) who is but one with the saints, whose perfect nature is for ever blessed! Glory to Thee, O Lord, who has neither colour, nor extension, nor body, nor any universal quality, and whose essence, pure among the pure, can only be appreciated by Sages or Rishis. We prostrate ourselves before Thee; Thou art in our bodies, in all living creatures. We glorify this Vasudeva, the sovereign Lord of all things, free from stain, seed of all things, free from dissolution, who is never born, who is eternal, and who is in essence the entire universe."*

## CHAPTER X

### MEDITATION AT TANJORE

**H**ow lovely is the route which runs from Trichinopoly to Tanjore ! It is an uninterrupted vision of villages in a forest of palms, where the rapturous warbling of the minstrel birds mingles with the cawing of crows and the screeching of parrots. It is, in reality, a luminous garden that we traverse and is a fitting prelude to the contemplation of Tanjore, where we arrive late in the evening.

The beautiful city of Tanjore well merits its name: the "City of Refuge." It extends among the greenness of its trees, peaceful and happy, while the Cauvery winds its calm, holy waters through verdant meadows and rice fields.

A great sorrow could soften and become calm in this city, full of exquisite gentleness, especially in the temple where all is order, beauty, peace. Here, in the vast religious quadrangle, no bazaar, no merchants, all is stillness, silence, the great silence, only broken by the carolling of birds, the cooing of doves, or by the sound, both sweet and grave, of bells chimed by the breeze.

In this temple, which dates from about the eleventh century, our eyes are drawn toward the beautiful order of everything. The central *gopuram*, as usual, like a pyramid in form, soars majestically into the pure sky above the sanctuary dedicated to Shri Brihadiswara, another name for the great god, Shiva. Here, in stone is the enormous *Nandi-Bull*, the sacred bull which, so tradition relates, developed imperceptibly during the course of ages to such colossal proportions that, to put a stop to its extraordinary growth, a nail was driven into its back !...Facing us, before the entrance, is the great mast in copper in which



are suspended the bells that ding-dong when the wind blows, and nearby in a cage of latticed wood, a proud peacock, with his magnificent tail unfolded, makes gracious advances toward his timid and reserved companion.

Further on, is a little temple dedicated to Subramanyam, a beautiful poem in stone, imbued with grace and lightness. Another, dedicated to Ganapati or Ganesha. Behind the central *gopuram* are the admirable galleries containing a whole series of *lingams*; galleries with graceful colonnades ornamented with naive and exquisite paintings. Among these frescoes, we note one where Shiva is represented in his dwelling of *Kailasa* (the dwelling of the gods) with a bull lying at his feet. Here are the *Apsaras* and the *Gandharvas*, the heavenly nymphs and choristers, who while clapping their cymbals, sprinkle lotus petals over valiant warriors. Then Shiva again, vanquishing the *Asuras*, the powers of darkness.

Is it the order, the beauty which reigns in this temple, or the chiming of the bells, or again this sculpture representing the illumination of the Buddha (strange to find in this Brahmanic place!), is it all that, in its ensemble, which draws us to meditation? It little matters. But it is certain that Tanjore is a perfect refuge for thought. There is behind this temple an atmosphere which could purify our mind and raise our thoughts to an unaccustomed elevation. To him who might doubt of order, harmony, beauty, to him who might be a prey to serious anxieties, it would be good to tell him: "Go to Tanjore, to its temple, the *City of Refuge* will bring you peace." However, there is a condition: it is that we should open our mind to receive *what is there*. This does not mean that there are stones or prayer-petitions—in any temple in the world—which can bring us aid or comfort. The exterior temple is nothing. The only one which counts is that which we carry within us. Such is the eternal and wise teaching given by all the true *Sages* of humanity. Did not Saint Paul say: "Do you not know that you are the temple of God.... you are this *temple*?" It is an inner attitude that is needed, the

attitude of a real pilgrim, one who is without passion and prejudice, the attitude in which we try to bring to birth in ourselves greatness, beauty, order, and harmony, in a word the qualities that forge aristocracy of thought.

That is what we can find at Tanjore, elevation of mind by mental asceticism, discipline which the Hindu Scriptures expose clearly in the *Bhagavad-Gita*:

*"He who is able to withstand the force of desire and passion while living in this world, before quitting his body he is united to the Spirit, he is blessed."*

*"He who finds within himself his happiness, his joy, and in himself also his light, is a Yogi who is merged in the Supreme Spirit, who is one with God."*

Gautama the Buddha, on his part, said :

*"Difficult to master, instable is the mind, always in quest of pleasures; it is good to dominate it. A trained mind assures happiness."* (Dhammapada)

So many persons turn to the exterior world to seek what is within themselves. Life is a long quest, whether it be in Art or in any other domain. Our great Balzac was right in saying: "Moral work, hunting in the high regions of the intelligence is one of the greatest efforts of Man." One lives but one does not know Life, still less its Presence, inexhaustible Source of beauty, force, hope, innocence of heart, which create aristocracy of mind. By becoming aristocrats of thought, we approach the Heart of Being, we become human in the most elevated sense of the word, we can say to our fellow man, even to the most miserable of men, this great, saving word: "You are my brother." It is the awakening to real life, it is to feel the Presence. Symbols become truth. We no longer see the goddess Saraswati as merely a cold idol of stone but as the symbol of the hidden Wisdom of the past; Lakshmi becomes the beauty of the interior life, the greatness of the realisation that we attain, little by

little, in the measure that we ascend the ladder of existence. When it is thus, we have found the Refuge, the sweet valley sheltered from storms, the peaceful valley where the laughter of life echoes joyously, like bells chimed by the breath of morning.

Tanjore! the "City of Refuge," the refuge to which we all aspire but which we so rarely find because of our follies and errors. The temple of Tanjore bids us choose: order or disorder, beauty or hideousness, peace or war, truth or illusion, *Sat* or *Maya*. All in life is a series of choices.

It is for us to choose, either the beaten track of war, violence, or the mountain path which leads to serenity of thought and heart. The happiness and welfare of humanity depends upon this choice.

## CHAPTER XI

### THE SECRET OF CHIDAMBARAM

OUR eyes are still filled with visions of Madura, Rameshwaram, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, our memory is still thronged with so many living symbols of the highest speculations of intelligence and spirit that we are in haste to start off again immediately towards other sanctuaries which may perhaps reveal to us other facets of India's ancient wisdom.

After stopping at Kumbakonam—where we visited its numerous temples, in particular that of Sarangapani Swami, dedicated to Vishnu, which possesses a beautiful, richly carved *gopuram* 147 feet in height; and that of Rama, containing pillars on which the different *Avatars* of Vishnu are featured in a vivid and beautiful movement of life—we make a great detour in order to visit Karikal and Pondicherry, two pretty towns on the Coromandel Coast. They are French possessions with limited powers and are, unfortunately, rather abandoned in spite of personalities of worth working and wishing to do more. (We sincerely congratulate those who have helped to spread French thought by the establishment of a magnificent library at Pondicherry, which certainly does honour to its founders.)

Today, after the sight of innumerable brightly-hued parrots, after having crossed pretty country, green-carpeted with rice fields, after having had our automobile engulfed in sands, nearly Saharian, under a torrid sun, we are now hastening on our way to Chidambaram, where we hope we may soon arrive. But a pilgrimage in India is well worth the inconvenience of suffering from heat, of journeying over long distances, of very often eating

only a few bananas and refreshing oneself with a little coconut milk, of going to bed very late after having searched for hours for a shelter, of getting up very early in order, at last, to visit the temple. Then one forgets all in the contemplation of what it represents of luminous knowledge, far beyond the customary horizons of life.

It seems that there is a secret in the temple of Chidambaram, one of the most beautiful of the temples of the South—so we are told. Up to now, we have not found this secret in the landscape which is unrolling before the windows of our car. We are passing through rather austere country, ascetic, one could say, scattered here and there with a few coco palms and palms. But, at last, we are coming to Chidambaram with its low houses and sparsely growing trees. We cross its fairly animated bazaar. It is six o'clock in the evening. Our boy asks the way to the *dak-bungalow*. It is right nearby and in a few minutes we arrive. A necessary and refreshing bath. Then, speedily, before night falls, a flying visit to the temple.

The temple occupies the centre of the little town. We are immediately struck by its imposing aspect and the very considerable extent of its surface. Clouds of swallows, in an ecstasy of joy, are tracing arabesques around the *gopurams*, fired with the glowing glory of the setting sun.

From the moment of our entrance into the interior precincts, after having removed our shoes, we are seized with an impression of force, an undeniable force which shakes you, hurls itself on you like a great wind. Is this the secret of Chidambaram? The temple is dedicated to the great god Shiva, as is the one at Madura. In the deepening night shadows which are stealing through the enormous edifice, we can see in the first court the obscure forms of a few sanctuaries, then some bas-reliefs representing gigantic elephants. A gong sounds. We watch the pilgrims passing silently from one sanctuary to another. The chime of a grave bell awakens echoes under the tremendous vaults of the great halls. The impression of

force returns, accentuated, perhaps, by the darkness which is filling the galleries dimly lighted by small wicks emerging from copper bowls full of oil. But it is there, present, this force. It reigns sovereignly, it envelopes you, it seizes hold of you as if to transport you into a world of powerful glory, through which are passing currents of fire. Force, Light, Fire! Is that the secret of Chidambaram? I don't know. We must wait until tomorrow in order to know.

We go back to the bungalow, thoughtful in face of the mystery of this temple. What a strange evening! It is made up of profound feelings, religious fears, interior calls, of hopes also. One's whole consciousness is in movement. Some different "selves" appear, one replacing the other, or presenting themselves simultaneously on the interior screen of consciousness. Then worlds spring up, dawns of worlds, followed by icy cosmic nights, through which, like a vast ocean surge, rushes a mighty, never-stopping wind. Is this the secret of Chidambaram?

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How majestic is the Temple of Shiva in the clear sunlight of early morning. It seems still vaster, more imposing than in the shadows of the night. Swallows are still wheeling joyously around the four great *gopurams*. A warm wind swings the fronds of the palms overhanging the high walls. It is not without a certain apprehension that we cross the threshold of the principal entrance. Shall we again find the mysterious force? Shall we discover the secret of Chidambaram?

Something particular to this temple is the vast quadrangle which encloses four immense courts or enclosures leading one into the other, like the ancient city of Peking. Each court has its sanctuaries. We see now, in the full light of day, the bas-reliefs of elephants which skirt the base of the hall of a thousand pillars. On the ceiling are beautiful frescoes representing various religious scenes.

Access to this hall is gained by means of a wide stone staircase. During great pilgrimages, consisting of 30,000 to 40,000 pilgrims, the statue of Shiva is placed in this hall in such a way as to enable the entire crowd to see it. Not far away is a little temple containing the *Nandi-bull*, the sacred bull, carved in stone richly carapaced. It is several thousands of years old, we are told. Afterwards, comes a very beautiful sanctuary raised to the honour of Lakshmi, the consort of Vishnu; then others to Ganesha, to Subramanyam, to Parvati, the consort of Shiva; then there come the chariots used for the gods at processions.

Under the depthless blue vault of the sky, as usual, is the marvellous sacred tank, the Shivaganga, called the "golden tank." It owes its name, it seems, to the ancient King Varma Chakra who, being infected with leprosy, bathed in its waters and was healed while, at the same time, his whole body was covered with the tint of gold. This tank is certainly the finest in the South of India. It forms an immense square surrounded by two galleries, one above the other. From the highest gallery, stone steps on the North, South East, and South, descend towards the tank as well as towards the lower gallery. Around the lower gallery is a row of colonnades which support the gallery above. From the top one, under the porticoes of a *mandapam*, the view is magnificent. One can see the pilgrims returning from their purifying bath in the sacred waters and drying themselves in the warm sunshine on the stone stairways. The view which extends over the *gopurams* and over the great mass of the hall of a thousand pillars, is impressive with grandeur. Suddenly, the force reappears. It grips you in the innermost fibres of your being. So it is really here, this force. It is not an illusion. One cannot escape it. It comes from the temple, but from which sanctuary, from which symbol?

We leave the Shivaganga and go to another part of the temple. A sound of tom-toms, flutes, and long clarionets resounds from somewhere in the depth of one

of the galleries and at the same time the gong, heard yesterday, rings and reverberates under the vaults of the hall where we are. We follow the pilgrims who seem to be going somewhere in answer to this religious signal. After passing through a long line of wide corridors, we arrive before two sanctuaries where strong odour of incense is floating in the air. The music stops, except for the gong which resounds unceasingly. On the forehead of the pilgrims who enter and leave the sanctuaries are designed either the trident of Vishnu or the three horizontal bars of Shiva, the respective signs of these two divinities. We are, in fact, before the sanctuaries of Shiva and Vishnu, one of the particularities of the temple of Chidambaram and which makes it celebrated. For this is one of the rare temples of India where Shiva and Vishnu meet each other and have sanctuaries side by side and placed in such a way that their respective devotees can see and adore their divinities at the same time, in the same place. In reality, Brahmâ, Vishnu, Shiva are One, let us not forget. The faces of the pilgrims at Chidambaram are grave. Some of them chant *mantrams*, others are silent. Do they understand? Superstitions are so strong! We could not penetrate into the interior of the sanctuaries because it is not allowed—the remains alas! of fanaticism. We could only stay on the threshold of the sanctuaries. So much the better for us in one sense. It caused us to remain outside of the popular religious current, often dangerous and contagious, and to see sanely and impartially *what is behind* these gross manifestations, invisible unfortunately to the crowd. We listen to the gong whose grave resonance seems to awaken, besides the powers of the air, the powers of the heart, those powers which are in each one of us, good and evil, angels and demons, fire and smoke, light and darkness, a whole inner cortege which quivers irresistibly, which nothing can stop, which rushes onwards like a torrent, as if driven by some mysterious force that was sleeping in us and is suddenly aroused by a fortui-



tous shock, a desire, a long-suppressed thought that we can no longer keep buried. All comes to the light, the good as the bad, which explains the phenomena of wars or eras of peace, fall or elevation, crime or genius, evilness or saintliness, beast or angel. These reflections, born spontaneously before these sanctuaries, show us clearly that the secret of Chidambaram is roving around. One feels oppressed.

In the vibrations of the gong, among the spirals of incense, amid the scent of jasmine (beautiful accessories of superstitions, often incorrectly understood, incorrectly employed), in the middle of sannyasis, of strange ascetics, of worshippers of Shiva and of Vishnu, the existence is pointed out to us of a veil suspended near at hand. What does it hide? Will it reveal the secret of Chidambaram? Yes, we think the secret is surely there. Behind the veil, must be the Force. We are told that behind the veil dwells the Power: the *Akasha Lingam*, the lingam of ether. If the veil is lifted, the *Akasha Lingam* will appear. At last, the curtain is lifted! A smooth wall. Behind the veil, there is nothing but a smooth wall!.... Where is the *Akasha Lingam*? It is said that it exists here, in this secret place. Yes, it is true, it can be there, but.... invisible. Ether, is it visible? We understand. Invisible things, the *unknown*, must be seen and understood by the interior eyes of our soul, says Hindu philosophy. "Happy those who have not seen but who have believed," said another voice. The *Lingam* is the symbol of abstract creation. It is the divine procreative Force. Akasha or Ether is this spiritual and primordial essence which penetrates everything, the seminal liquor of Nature. It is also the *Anima Mundi*, the Soul of the World, the sacred Fire of Zoroaster, the Lightning of Cybele, the living Fire of universal life, life's electric and magnetic power. What immense horizons unroll before us! Behind this fire, this power, this force, what is there? Who kindles the fire of the Spirit, who sets in motion power, force, potencies? No, the *Akasha Lingam* is not

the whole secret of Chidambaram. This secret must be united to another force, more sovereign still, to a symbol yet more sacred, which is the Holy of holies, the Secret of secrets, which must be represented even here in this temple.

We now turn our steps towards the sanctuary of Shiva. The gong still resounds. We make our way through the crowds of ascetics so as to get near to the dwelling of the god. But what do we see? Now that the view is not hindered by pilgrims and massive pillars, we can see confusedly in the dim light a dazzling roof of gold, adorned with fleurons, which forms a canopy. Under this canopy stands a statue. It is that of Shiva, half-naked, with four arms. What is he doing? *The god is dancing.* It is the *Nataraja*. . . . . The Dance of Shiva! The Holy of holies, the Symbol of symbols. The Force, the Light, the Fire, the Dance. We are at last in the presence of the secret of Chidambaram.

*Ci-va-ya-na-ma.* Salutation to Shiva! says the *mantram*, powerful invocation. The god with four arms dances, his long jewelled tresses whirling in the dance, the god with the third eye in the centre of his forehead, the eye of eternity. One of his hands holds a tambour, another is lifted in sign of confidence and hope, another makes a gesture of offering, it gives. The fourth holds the fire. There is the god, standing on a lotus for a pedestal, entirely encircled by a ring of flames. Clothed in a tiger's skin, a *naga*, a serpent, serving for his necklace, one of his feet is crushing a demon, the other is lifted. The god dances. His young, slender limbs, his harmonious form, his smile, all in him expresses radiant joy. *Ci-va-ya-na-ma.* Salutation to Shiva! He dances the Dance of Life, the cosmic dance of the world. The *Nataraja* is the ceaseless rhythm of life, which never stops and which always, without beginning or end, advances in eternity. Shiva is the Regenerator and the Destroyer. He is the god of Time, his tambour has the form of an hour-glass. He calls the worlds to life, he causes them

to be born, grow, in a ceaseless whirlwind. He invites men to regeneration. The fire of life animates them because Shiva is himself the spiritual fire at the base of Nature and of Man.

*"O my Lord, Thy hand holding the sacred drum has made and ordered the heavens and earth and other worlds and innumerable souls. Thy lifted hand protects both the conscious and unconscious order of Thy creation. All these worlds are transformed by Thy hand bearing fire. Thy sacred foot, planted on the ground, gives an abode to the tired soul struggling in the toils of causality. It is Thy lifted foot that grants eternal bliss to those that approach Thee. Our Lord is the Dancer who, like the heat latent in firewood, diffuses His power in mind and matter and makes them dance in their turn,"*

says a Hindu scripture.\* Then when forms have furnished their experiences, when life through them—life for which death does not exist—has gathered the nectar of knowledge, then the great god Shiva becomes the Destroyer. He destroys the used moulds so that he may recall them to life under forms more perfect. He is indeed the Destroyer and the Regenerator, the eternal progress in the slow evolution of matter and life. All changes, everything modifies itself through the cycles of peace, war, catastrophes, epidemics, through death and life. Nothing is created but all transforms during the successive emanations of the universe—universe which exists but for Man, but for his eternal becoming, but for his glory. Nothing is static, all is motion. Even in the eternities of rest—when every emanation has returned to the original source from where it issued, the Absolute, the Unknowable Divinity—there is the Great Breath which never stops, which is the respiration of Life. When repose comes to an end, the Fire of Shiva kindles the worlds. "Seven ascetics," say the Scriptures, "appear on the threshold.

\*See "The Dance of Shiva" by Coomaraswamy.

of the temple of the universe with seven sticks of burning incense. At these sticks, the first line of pilgrims light theirs. Then each ascetic commences to swing his stick around his head in space and communicates the fire to others." It is the *Nataraja*, life awakening, the dawn of worlds, the Dance of Shiva manifesting anew throughout the seven worlds. *Ci-va-ya-na-ma*. Salutation to Shiva!

He dances, the Mahadeva, the great god, the ascetic of ascetics. In him are centred the highest spiritual perfections. He is the principle of abstract meditation which, alone, can elevate us to Him. That is the reason why He, the *Maha-Yogi*, is the Patron of all Yogis, of all true Sages. "It is the Spirit of Divine Wisdom and of chaste Asceticism which incarnates in those who become his Elect." The Guru-deva Shiva, does he not possess the "Open Eye of *Dangma*," the soul's spiritual eye which embraces the infinite fields of knowledge, of learning? *Dangma* is the soul purified, the soul which elevates itself, which dances, it also, on the crushed demons of its ancient dark, human nature. Also, for each pilgrim, each soul which lives its deepest life, its hidden life in the cell of its heart, Shiva is the Patron, the invisible but ever-present Guru who can be contemplated only with the soul's eye, Shiva's eye, which we all possess but which can open only when our nature of darkness has been purified by moral penances and meditation. We can wear the signs of a Shivaist, the black dot or the three bars, in the centre of our forehead, but as long as the soul's eye is not open to the realities of the spiritual life, so long as we have not broken the circle of our illusions, our follies, our superstitions, we are not Shivaists. To be born a disciple of Shiva is the second birth, it is to be born to the spiritual life; it is also the beginning of the soul's tragedy.

The Guru-deva Shiva is Force, Light and Fire. Even as "the seed dies in order to become a plant," so must he who is the disciple of Shiva die to himself in order to find himself. "He who would save his life must lose it," said the Galilean. But the neophyte acquires the

force to kill his passions, the *Maruts*, which are unchained in him the moment he prepares himself to lead a true inner life. He then lives a difficult life in which he must vanquish or succumb. If he succumbs, he will not succumb in vain, for he will have amassed energies for future battles. In the measure that he fastens his eyes upon the star which shines in him, the light of Shiva will grow and illumine his way. He understands, he sees. To understand, to see, are the necessary steps. Afterward, he will feel that Shiva acts within him as Destroyer and Regenerator. He destroys, he burns up the bad scoriae. The disciple will suffer from burns, he will twist like twigs which shrivel on a red-hot fire, but he will know, he has learned, that the test is necessary, that the shadows of the night must be passed through. He murmurs: *Ci-va-ja-na-ma*. Salutation to Shiva! If he has courage, if he perseveres without total failure—for there is no real fall unless one ceases to struggle—the first battles are won. Then, over his weary spirit appear the Hands of Shiva, the prodigious divine Hands. At first, the one which brings hope, confidence in the immortal energies of our being. Afterwards the one which gives. What? Love, the greatest of all gifts. Love, wise and strong, love which is an exhaustless fountain of joy, love, intrepid, which makes an individual a servitor of men; love which is never hard; love that is as infinitely sweet as the music of an Aeolian harp when the evening breeze passes over its cords; love which sparkles with light. Lastly, when other interior stages have been passed, appear the two other Hands: the one which carries the tambour and the one which holds the fire of devotion, true *Bhakti* which burns in the sanctuary of the soul. Devotion to the true and very rare Guru, the Master, the Sage, whom the disciple has discovered. Devotion which is knowledge of the laws of being and life. Devotion to the interests of others. Devotion which does not make one a slave to an individual, or even to an idea, but devotion which is communion, union with the ideal, in the absolute liberty of the

forces unfolded. Then, devotion becomes the tambour which calls the great flock of men to the fête of life.

Oh! the Hands of Shiva, what do they not represent for a disciple, in their force, their grace, their hidden powers? Hope, confidence, knowledge, force, devotion, love!.... When they appear, extended over his consciousness, the disciple sees at last that he also, in his own measure, has danced the Dance of Shiva. By a process of spiritual alchemy, he has become a real Shivaist, a son of the Divinity. "Man, know thyself and thou wilt know the universe and the gods," said the oracle of Delphi. That is the secret which every man must learn, which every man must unlock. *Nataraja!* The Dance of Shiva must be learned.

Whether it be the dance at twilight on the heights of the Himalayas, with divine choir, or whether it be the Nadanta dance of the Nataraja before the assembly in the golden hall of the temple of Chidambaram, one can only evoke the god who dances.

*Ci-va-ya-na-ma. Ci-va-ya-na-ma.* Salutation to Shival! Salutation to Shival murmur the pilgrims in the temple of Chidambaram. It is the great wind of the Spirit which passes.

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In order to increase its influence and its force, Chidambaram has founded a Temple of Learning in the form of a big university, which is situated near the temple.

Spirit and Intelligence, the twins of eternity, the supreme gifts of Shiva to the human creature, intelligence at the service of spirit, spirit fecundating intelligence. Without these gifts, what are we? What is a nation, what is a race, a humanity, without these two cosmic powers which are forces set in motion by the intelligent law at the base of life, or, if you prefer, the Dance of Shiva? "Let there be light and it was light." "In the beginning was the Word." Without spirit and intelligence, we are worse than beasts. Without these two powers, we gene-

rate wars, egoism, tyranny, brutality, we become failures of Nature; we have not accomplished our mission of Men, we are nothing but the cadavres of men, animated only by an inferior intelligence, troubled and redoubtable, which only knows how to create instruments of torture, so as to enslave life for purposes of shame, greed, and moral decomposition.

India, in her glorious past, has understood that the greatness of a nation, its virility, its moral value, depend entirely on the system of education that is given to it. The only remedy for transforming a nation is the School. What does one give as nourishment to the intelligence of the child? When the culture of the intelligence is not based on the spirit, the school engenders one of the worst evils of humanity: egoism, generator of all the deficiency causes in mankind. Spirit must be linked to intelligence. What is needed is a culture which makes the heart intelligent and which gives intelligence a noble character. Experience proves that books alone bring nothing but superficial culture. Personal relations between master and pupil are necessary. But who have we as educators in the universities of the world, or in our primary schools? These educators, men or women, in spite of their devotion and their intelligence, do they possess the necessary elements of profound life, this culture capable, as we have already said, of rendering the heart intelligent and imprinting the intelligence with the seal of nobility? Would it not be wiser to form, at first, a *School for Educators*, apt to receive men and women free from all party struggles, who, before beginning to teach, have commenced their inner regeneration by drinking from the purest sources of the wisdom of the ages, wisdom which gives the knowledge of the laws of life? Would this not be the beginning of an intellectual and spiritual disinfection of humanity, without forgetting the physique of the race, which would lead to a renaissance of the values, intellectual and moral, of Men? Philosopher-Educators? Well! yes, why not? Will it not be necessary to come back to the "dreams"

of Plato? The reign of philosophers? Yes, the reign and the testimony of the Repressed.

Such are the opening questions that every individual who has at least a total change of the mind of the human race, must ask himself at the crucial hour through which humanity is passing. So long as men kneel before stones of matter, there will be no hope for them. So long as men cling to the dead, waste of religious superstition, either in the East or the West, there will be no hope for them. The collective mind and heart of humanity must be changed.

Ancient India furnished us examples of schools, universities, *Brahmanas* or *Paddisats*, which brought to this nation past plots and battles between nations, that today into slavery. Let us take such centers of culture as *Taxila*, *Ujjayini*, and *Nalanda*. These universities—where thousands of students came from all parts of Asia to drink at the source of knowledge—based their systems of education on individual contact between master and pupil, but the masters themselves were pupils in the great University of Life. What they gave to their students was the honey of their moral and intellectual experience received through masters still more experienced in spiritual science, in the true knowledge of the law of life. Do we not see the famous Chinese pilgrim, *Huen-Tsang*, coming to perfect himself at *Nalanda* in the study of *Yoga-sutra*, the knowledge of the law of being? Did he not have, at *Nalanda*, the celebrated vision of the vastitude through which India would have to pass? Thus, there passed through these universities great winds of free Spirit and free Intelligence which swept away the mists of false conceptions, which formed real men, noble men, in whom joy sparkled.

There are the thoughts which haunted us while we were on our way to the University of *Chidambaram*, the university of *Chidambaram*. The problems of former times present themselves also today with the same poignancy. India's universities are numerous. Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Alipah, Benares, Mysore, to mention only the principal



ness among them, gather together an imposing number of professors and students. Some of them have an average of 15,000 or 20,000 students. They teach letters, science, law, medicine, engineering, etc. But how many among them recall the ancient lessons of *Nāṭya*, of *Tantra*? We are not making criticisms. We simply put the question to the sincere scholars and philosophers of India.

The University of *Amravati* was founded in 1925 by Raja Sir S. R. M. Amarsinh Chaudh. Its surface covers several thousands of acres. A superb avenue, bordered with green lawns, the residence of the professors, leads to a large circular space where the principal buildings are grouped. There is the senate hall, a stupendous construction, in which the members of the examinations hold their deliberations and which contains a magnificent hall to accommodate a thousand people. Notice from this building is the library which already possesses more than 40,000 volumes and where we are very pleased to see an important place assigned to French books. Here high order, cleanliness, light air, the practical instruction of several titles; all seems to give the student a propitious atmosphere for profound meditation and intellectual speculation. Other buildings are the students' quarters, each student having his own room with a terrace; further on is the College of Hindī music where the study of this ancient art, that had almost died out, has been revived, so that the choir of instruments such as the ancient *veṇu*, *ṭārūṅga*, and others can again be played. Uday Shankar, the magnificent dancer of India, has ministered shows the way to this revival by modernising his dances in a prestigious way. We cannot forget either another great Hindu artist, who has done so much towards restoring music and dancing in India and who works always nobly for this end: we mean the famous *Rajmuni Devi*. To see her dance is a moving and endearing dream.

Now we come to the gardens frequented by the young girls. Through the open windows, we cast a discreet glance

into the hall where we see charming groups of girls in their gay saris, chatting and laughing in their clear, ringing voices. Afterwards, we look admiringly at the professors' bungalows; the little Hindu temple, full of poetry, hidden in its shady retreat. And lastly, still under construction, the immense gardens where a profusion of flowers and trees will entrance all who see them with their masses of brilliant hues; the pond where amateurs of yachting will be able to give free rein to their amusement; the tennis courts....

This model university, furnished with the most up-to-date perfections, offers, of course, the usual curriculum of studies: letters, science, philosophy, art, languages, and the study of Sanskrit.

But at the end of our very interesting visit, we repeat our question: are all these human studies worthy of India's past? The students who leave India's universities, are they merely swelling the number of the diplomad of other world universities? If, as we suppose, the answer is in the affirmative, then the secret of Chidambaram must be solved here as elsewhere. The mind must be changed. There is but one culture worthy of a true civilisation—the culture of the Spirit. We have already said it and we repeat it: it is necessary to link intelligence to spirit. Only in this way can we have new educators in the world; new Sankaracharyas, Confucius, Leonardo da Vincis, Platos, Pythagoras, Origenes, Virgils, Beethovens, Jean-Sebastien Bachs, great Shepherds of body, soul, and spirit. Then we shall understand that the Cosmic Dance of Shiva makes it possible for intelligence to plunge into the unfathomable abyss of Spirit.

We shall always remember the Sunday when we left Chidambaram. It was at the hour of a marvellous sunset. Away in the distance, into the massed molten colours of the sunset soared the *gopurams* of the great temple and they seemed to chorus: "Glory to Life which never dies! Glory to Intelligence fertilized by Spirit! Glory to Thee,

Shiva ! Glory to the *Nataraja* ! Glory to the Mahadeva who dances eternally the Dance of Life."

*Ci-va-ya-na-ma*. Salutation to Shiva ! Salutation to Man !

## CHAPTER XII

### THE DESCENT OF THE GANGES

A SEVERAL hours' journey from Madras, including the crossing of a river by means of a primitive *bac* (a kind of ferry boat), brings us into romantic territory. On the borders of the Gulf of Bengal, sparkling in ripples of gold and blue, on a sandy beach, among pines and tamarinds and blocks of mossy stone half-buried under a profusion of sweet smelling wild grass, hide the monolith temples of Mahavalipuram, the Seven Pagodas, chefs-d'oeuvre of the art of the Pallavas belonging to the seventh century.

After zigzagging by a narrow path to the top of a pile of green, mossy rocks, our view extends over plains and the sea whose long swell advances and spreads itself indolently over the hot, sandy beach. At our feet, through the needly plumes of pines and the green tresses of tamarinds, rise the peaceful pagodas. The afternoon is very calm. There they are, these pagodas, but when we descend from our observatory, they hide themselves again and have to be discovered afresh. It is then a joy renewed.

Before these wonderful pagodas which are around us and marvel our eyes with their varieties, one's being is filled with a sentiment of tenderness. We are no longer in the exuberance of Madura, nor in the order of Tanjore, nor in the force and fire of Chidambaram. Here we are no longer on the lofty peaks of metaphysics but in a faerie spot of legend and dream. But legend and dream nearer to reality than are our matter-of-fact waking days. We are still among the gods, as in the other temples, but in the Seven Pagodas the gods have ceased to be far-distant stars, we do not have to ascend towards them, we no longer

have to seek for them, for they have come down to us, into our life. Here the wonderful pictures in stone show us better perhaps the sacred mission of the great Sages, as well as their humanising influence.

Before us is the high-relief of Mahavalipuram. It represents the "Descent of the Ganges." We recall a passage from the *Bhagavat-Purana*: "A long time ago, a fabulously long time ago, the waters of the Ganges had their source and flowed through the heavens. But a king, Bhagiratha, reflecting deeply over the evils of the earth and wishing to remedy them, underwent severe mortifications so that the sacred waters might be allowed to flow down and purify the valleys of men. In order to prevent the great mass of waters causing another deluge upon the earth, the god Shiva, in his great love for Man, willed to receive them upon his head. So, for a thousand years, the sacred waters were poured through the tresses of his hair until finally, in this way, they came to form seven principal sources in the Himalayas."

Part of this lovely legend is there, carved in the immense fresco of stone, hewn even out of the cliff. In it are grouped gods, animals, ascetics, sages, nagas, goddesses with beautiful, pure, naked forms. A whole creation prostrates itself before the miracle of Nature, the Mother who is tender and protecting to her children.

What living symbols, dramatic even! Is it not the history of humanity which is narrated to us in this featured stone, in this "Descent of the Ganges?" It is the gift of the gods, the gift of wisdom won. The Ganges! The sacred river carrying, symbolically, in its strong current the eternal truths, does it not represent also the cohort of the "Sons of God," the saintly Gurus, the Wise Ones, who come to tread the highway of men in order to help them to attain the mountain peaks which are named: liberty, happiness, brotherhood, peace?

From all the Hindu Scriptures a cry emerges, the echo of which rings from age to age, through all civilisations:

*"Arise, awake !*

*Seek the Great Ones and understand . . ."*

say the *Upanishads*. "Awake," says Saint Paul, "and Christ will enlighten thee." To seek the great Sages, to find those who have the sacred power to bless and point out the route to follow "out of the mud of terrestrial lies," and, above everything else, to understand them ! What a solemn task which contains within it the promise of the regeneration of humanity !

And everywhere on this stone fresco is seen the *naga*, the serpent, the universal symbol of knowledge and wisdom and, consequently, the symbol of the "Sons of Resurrection," the Masters of Wisdom. Whether it be the word of the Galilean: "Be ye wise as serpents," or the brass serpents of Moses, or again Mercury in his rôle of psychopompos, conducting and guiding the souls of the dead to Hades by the aid of his *Caduceus*; whether it be the Buddha washed at his birth by nagas; Vishnu lying on the *naga-cesha*, the serpent of eternity; the initiated Pharaohs wearing tall head dresses encircled by sculptured figures of vipers; the Lord Krishna speaking of himself as being *Vasuki*, the chief of the serpents—everywhere and always the serpent symbolises the Dragon of Wisdom, the super-human Men, whose mission is to bless and to serve.

The Descent of the Ganges is certainly the cyclic return to earth of these powerful Educators bringing with them the great offering. It is the earth fecundated by the spirit.

We find in all the ancient Scriptures of the world, an allusion made to the Sons of God, to the Watchers who watch over humanity, who incarnate among men as divine kings, as philosophers, and prophets. Those are the true spiritual chiefs of the world. They have watched over the first steps of humanity. They have given to humanity, say *Genesis* and the *Book of Enoch*, the arts and sciences, the secrets of the universe, the Gnosis; "the knowledge of things which are," said Pythagoras; the "mysterious

wisdom that God has reserved for man since the beginning," adds Saint Paul; the *Atma-Viśya* of Hindu philosophy which, after all, is at the base of all religions, all philosophies, sciences, art. The *Thos-ahs-kron* of all epochs—Krishna, Buddha, Zoroaster, Jesus, Confucius, Sankaracharya—form the "guardian wall" of humanity, which invisibly shelters it from still greater evils. "Built by the hands of numberless Masters of Compassion," says an old Scripture, "raised by their torture, cemented by their blood, it shields mankind since man is man, and protects him from far greater misery and much deeper sorrow."

We can in our folly reject the existence of such a guardian wall. History, alas! proves to us that this is what generations of men have done, are doing still, and cycles of darkness have succeeded to cycles of light. Scepticism, withering irony, have shrivelled up the most beautiful aspirations of the man-soul, until today there are but two camps: materialism and superstition. Certainly, it is easy for each of us to say: "The world is mad." But let us take care not to become mad ourselves. Let us take care not to create anew, in the tumult of the world, false gods, false gurus (the routes of India are full of false gurus), false doctrines, which will reserve for us further periods of mental darkness. For then the pretended new civilisation would be but the bastard daughter of the old.

Oh! these Nagas, these Sons of Light, without any doubt they are yearning to descend again and dwell with us. What hinders them from coming? We do, we men, the sons and daughters of the earth.

## CHAPTER XIII

### TOM-TOMS AT CONJEEVARAM

A CHARMING *dak-bungalow* buried under palm trees and hidden from the road by hedges of fragrant jasmine. We have just arrived, late in the evening, after wandering around in our car for more than an hour looking for the traveller's cottage.

While the "boy" goes to the town, two or three miles distant, to procure our evening meal of curry and fruit, we saunter along the road which winds round the bungalow. The soft Indian night is full of fragrance and the moon's radiant countenance beams over the countryside. Scattered lights indicate a few humble dwellings hidden under clusters of trees. The lowing of a buffalo in its stable breaks the silence from time to time. On the road, white ivory in the radiance of the moon, fire-flies dance never-ending reels, forming glistening circles which break and form again. Nearby, a man's voice rises singing a *raga*.

At the other side of a plain intersected by groves and coppices, we can see hazily pyramidal forms rearing upwards into the night sky. These are the *gopurams* of the temples of Conjeevaram. Here, we are in the second Benares of India. In the seventh century, it was the residence of the kings of Pallava. The principal temple is dedicated to Shiva and the others to Vishnu. The great pilgrimage takes place in April.

But, a far-off sound is heard; it is a tom-tom, accompanying no doubt a procession. A blast of firecrackers breaks out from the direction of the temples, then a series of other squib-like explosions. From afar, the rhythmic drumming of tom-toms resounds again through



the night and the soft breeze wafts to us the echoes of songs. At Conjeevaram, the night is as religious as the day. During the whole year round, the town resounds with the beating of tom-toms and the chanting of songs. Later on, under our mosquito nets, for a long time—far into the night—we hear the resonance of the tom-toms of the great temple.

....Early the next morning, we are awakened by the cawing of the crows. The sun already spreads his wonderful wizardry over Nature. Buffaloes are grazing on the route and as far as the town it is a pastoral coming and going in the simple joy of a new day to live.

The road leading to the principal temple is broad and bordered by coco palms. Before entering the religious edifice, we stop to contemplate the beautiful sculptured pornioces on the face of the temple. We notice an adorable figure of a goddess folding her arms around a lingam while the head of a Naga shelters her. Such grace in all the gestures!

The temples of Shiva and Vishnu are both very beautiful. In that of Vishnu, in the *mandapam* with a hundred pillars, there are some sculptures of horses which are very striking, due to the astounding effect of vigour expressed in their movements.

Under the great columns, some attractive scenes stop us. Here, in a corner, young girls are seated on the stone slabs and chatting to one another in the shadow of god Vishnu; over there, are some boys, naked to the waist, on whose foreheads is designed in white the trident of Vishnu. They learn, under the direction of a Brahman, to repeat *mantrams* to celebrate the glory of the god; while all around them the great sculptured pillars recount the epic experiences through which Nature passes in her eternal cycle of life.

Conjeevaram throngs with temples. They are everywhere, on the great square, in the streets and lanes, large and small. Moreover, there are others in the surrounding countryside. During our wanderings, we come to a soli-



Sanskrit Teaching in Conjeevaram Temple



tary spot, outside of the town. It is almost a desert, scattered here and there with a few trees. All is calm and silent, apart from a joyous concerto of parrots and the echo of tom-toms which remind us that....the gods are there.

Suddenly, to our great surprise, near a little Jain temple, we discover a stele engraved with some inscriptions and having on its top two interlaced triangles. A stele of Asoka, our guide tells us. It is quite possible. In fact, Conjeevaram, the Benares of the South, did she not hear 2,600 years ago the voice of the Buddha? Hiuen-Tsang, the celebrated Chinese pilgrim of the seventh century who in his pilgrimage across India followed the traces of the Tathagata, was he not struck with admiration by this city and its temples? Although he found chiefly in the North columns erected by the Emperor Asoka, he could doubtless have found other vestiges of this epoch also in Southern India.

This stele is there, framed by a few scattered palm trees, its base sunk into the sand. We wished so much that we were able to decipher its inscriptions. If it really belongs, as is affirmed, to the epoch of Asoka, its inscriptions would resemble those carved on the pillars in the North, which have been retranscribed into modern language. However that may be, before our marvelling mind flit some of those glorious figures of ancient India who gave to their country an ideal of moral and social riches which could still serve as model to the world of tomorrow.

Asoka! Prestigious emperor who knew how to give to his people both prosperity and happiness. This is so rare that one must note it. His life is an extraordinary example of what can be accomplished by a man who has the fearful mission of being the head of a state. This life, is it still—we will not say present—living in the memory of all modern India's politicians? It is, in any case, living in his edicts, called somewhere "sermons in stone," which, carved on pillars, conserve his inmost thought.

Apart from the work of the great spiritual chiefs of India, there is nothing more astonishing or more instructive than to see in ancient Hindustan the unity of political life realised by its greatest statesmen. It is certain that the achievement of the Maurya dynasty, after the death of the Buddha, is one of the finest and most distinctive features of Indian history.

In the life of some persons, there come redoubtable hours which entirely change the career and transform the inner life of the individual. This was the case with the Emperor Asoka. From the beginning of his reign, he found himself at the crossroads. He had declared war in order to aggrandize his kingdom. When he saw the loss of his armies, the horrors of the battlefield, his soul trembled. One can easily imagine how stirring this hour must have been for Asoka. Crucial hour! Saving hour! hour of service to men, to his brothers. From that day, he embraced the wisdom preached by the Buddha, the wisdom of all the Buddhas, past and future.

For thirty-seven years, the period during which his reign lasted (274 to 237 B. C.), the Emperor Asoka proved to an immense empire that spiritual values, *real*, that is to say, can always be the levers of command for any political action. His truly Aryan characteristics, the *éclat* of his influence over all domains of social life—physical and moral well-being, art, science, philosophy, religion—show us that the lofty conceptions of Asoka on the government of a state could be followed with profit in our modern world, rent by incessant wars and violent upheavals. It is not astonishing, then, that impartial historians in their study of the life of this great Emperor have failed to find in history any other monarch comparable to him—with the exception, perhaps, of Marcus Aurelius.

In spite of the eighty-four centuries which separate us from the period of Asoka, it is easy to understand fully the reality of this truth—banal but useful to repeat—that the happiness of a people will never depend on a group of politicians, nor on the dictatorship of an individual, but

that the social well-being of a nation depends uniquely upon spiritual values. What the world is in need of, we have already said, it is not professors of philosophy but *philosophers*. This Platonist idea was put into practice by Asoka.

At the head of an Empire which extended over the whole of India, the Southern point excepted, Asoka, solicitous about the welfare of his people, observed that the changes, both social and economic, which generally accompany a great Empire's development, by the conquest of little States, with its inevitable succession of dynastic tragedies, lead finally but to unhappiness for the masses and gain for the egoistic and covetous minorities. The problems of long ago are the problems of today. Asoka discovered how to solve them. He bent towards his people. . . *He listened to its heart*. Brushing aside with a firm hand all intrigues, he adopted as moral base for his political activity Buddhism, which was flourishing in most of the provinces—they were still ringing with the voice of the Beggar Prince—the only religion which, in the history of the world, has never engendered war.

One of the first acts of Asoka was to undertake "moral rounds." Mixing with the crowd, interrogating individuals without distinction of creed or social condition, he acquainted himself with their needs, their aspirations. He saw their sufferings. Then, he aided his subjects, not only with his gold, which is easy, but by the diffusion of moral and eternal laws, those contained in the Sermon of Benares of his Master, the Buddha, laws susceptible of contributing to the happiness of homes. Better than that, he formed a body of functionaries to whom he taught the fundamental truths of functionaryism, that is to say, how to be not merely functionaries but instructor-philosophers of the Dharma, of the Doctrine, and at the same time to preoccupy themselves ardently and arduously with the general needs of the people.

Amphitheatres were constructed where instruction and amusements were given to the masses. The selling

price of goods was controlled so that there could be no abuses or illicit profits. The energies of each one had to be spent in contributing to the general well-being of all. No privileged class. Asoka himself gave the example of a simple life from which ostentation was banished. He forbade hunting, all trials by combat between animals, alcohol. He surveyed prostitution so as to avoid any excess of sexual life. He made every effort possible to stabilize family life and to increase birth in an atmosphere of joy and peace. Military conquests ceasing to exist, financial charges were transferred to the well-being of social life. Instruction, medicine, the building of hospitals for the sick and destitute, art, all concurred in promoting the moral and physical well-being of his people. Before all, Asoka wanted for his people deliverance from the fetters of superstition, source of so many evils. He preferred service to man rather than useless and dangerous cults. He demanded religious tolerance toward the beliefs of different sects, but he wanted to dissipate ignorance by giving knowledge abundantly. National and cultural unity was strengthened by the adoption of a common language: Pali.

Asoka's efforts in the realms of philosophy and religion created material changes in the social life of India. For, inversely to what we believe in our days, he thought the material conditions of a people are in direct relation to its inner life. Let us grasp thoroughly that he did not want, in the least degree, to drowse his people with the opium of false religious conceptions for perverted ends, but he desired earnestly to energise them, ennoble them, lift them to altitudes of intelligence and brotherhood by the loftiest moral and philosophic truths.

Under Asoka's wise direction, India must have known a glory without equal. In the smallest villages, this march onward of a people along the most desired routes of unity and fraternity was felt. Wells and reservoirs were offered to travellers as well as houses of rest. Numberless feasts and distractions rejoiced all hearts. Work became

joy. Beauty broadened the customary horizons of life. In the domain of architecture, great improvements were achieved. The ancient caves were transformed into sanctuaries; nearly 84,000 buildings were constructed; the temples were adorned with frescoes and statues. Architecture, before the Maurya dynasty, generally made use of but fragile and perishable materials. But under Asoka's influence, the use, chiefly, of stone and sandstone succeeded in giving to India an enduring art, capable of defying the ravaging hand of Time. The art of Asoka has given to India many chefs-d'oeuvre, such as those which can still be seen at Sanchi, Bharut, Sarnath, Gaya. . . Thus, in the Maurya Empire, the cult of beauty welled up naturally from beauty of soul and from its joy.

But in order to give a permanent character to his achievement of social regeneration, so as to testify to the generations of the future that an eternal sovereignty cannot be won by war but *by love for the people* and its intellectual and moral elevation, Asoka had columns erected throughout the whole of his Empire on which were engraved his principal edicts. One has only to read these edicts to realise once again, fully, that the happiness of a people can rest but on service, learning, and brotherhood. Here are a few extracts from these edicts:

*"There is no higher duty than the welfare of the entire world. And the little effort that I am making has in view to liberate me from my debt towards all living beings and to render some of them happy here on earth, while they can attain heaven in the world beyond. All men are my children. They will receive from me happiness not suffering."*

*"It is with this unique intention that I have erected religious columns, that I have created surveyors of religion. On the routes, I have planted nyagrodhas for the purpose of giving shade to men and animals; I have planted gardens of mangoes, I have had wells dug, and I have had built, in a crowd of places, caravanserais for the enjoyment of men and animals."*



*"By order of the king dear to the devas, officers of Toradā, appointed to carry on the administration of the town, must know the following: you are placed over hundreds of thousands of creatures in order to win the attachment of good men. Every man is my child; even as I desire for my children the enjoyment of every kind of prosperity and happiness in this world and in the next, I desire the same for all men."*

*"In the past, for centuries, the murder of living beings has held sway, as well as violence towards creatures, the want of respect toward parents, the want of regard for Brahmins and gramanas. But today, the king Piyāsasi, dear to the devas, faithful to the practice of religion, has made the voice of drums sound even as the voice of religion."*

It is with such precepts that Asoka succeeded in giving to his Empire peace and happiness. What a lesson for our modern Chiefs of State, both in the East and the West!

When one reflects that India—which had already in the past given so many proofs of her moral force by the voice of her most saintly sons—was at the time of Asoka one of the world's principal centres of culture and civilisation, centre united to China, Assyria, Persia, Greece, by great commercial lines, one must not be astonished that her brilliance extended over these far countries. Consequently, India influenced powerfully the currents of thought both intellectual and spiritual, of these different peoples. The missionaries sent to these countries by Asoka had a preponderating rôle in the transmission of this light. Does not Pliny show them established on the banks of the Dead Sea? Was it not these Asokian missionaries, as well as Buddhists, who were the originators later on of the Therapeuts and of the Essenians of Judea and Arabia, to whom Jesus went for instruction? Is there not a narrow parallelism between the life of Jesus and that of Budōka? We see this fertilising influence of Hindu thought equally manifesting itself in Egypt in the form of Hermetic schools

dedicated to the cult of Isis and Osiris; in Greece and at Rome in the growth of Mysteries of Dionysus, of Ceres, and of Bacchus. Pythagoras and, later on, Apollonius of Tyana, as well as Plotinus, did they not all go to India to draw their teachings from the source of Learning? Lastly, from Xenophanes to Zenophon, the philosophy of the Buddha, little by little, became popular throughout the countries of the West.

....While there passed before our mind this evocation of a glorious past, our ears were ringing with echoes of the tom-toms of Conjeevaram. Their resonance even mingled with our vision and it seemed to us that through the continuous passing of the centuries, these tom-toms heralded the coming of new great Educators, those who bring with them real culture based on Nature's laws and who—when a civilisation crumbles into ruins in consequence of its sins—make it possible to rebuild the world—a new world—on the ancient and everlasting bases of true learning and the brotherhood of Man.

Oh ! tom-toms of Conjeevaram, like the tambour of Shiva, continue to beat the rallying of the Pioneers, the Builders of the World of Tomorrow.



### PART III



## CHAPTER XIV

### A POET SAINT

**I** HAVE just seen a saint, a real saint. Happy are the nations to which saints are born, above all, when those saints are also poets who sing their inner vision of life.

In these modern days, a saint is a very rare sort of man, as rare as the flower of the Udambara. By the word "saint," we do not mean a man whose merits have been easily acquired as, for example, Benedict Labre who let himself be devoured by insects; or one of those terrible ascetics who break their bones or who sit upon nails. But we are going to speak of a man truly pure and impersonal, in whom the glory of life sparkles, whose smile is as divine as a child's, and who advances over "the highways of the clouds," as said Job.

Such a man is surrounded by an atmosphere charged with sacred currents. He continually rejoices in the happiness of others. He possesses a wisdom of soul which dissipates the fogs of illusion, a chastity of body and of thought (which is more difficult) that aureoles his face, a simple joy, even humour, which temperates his powerful energy. His radiance extends in golden beams over all those who approach him. This man is fragrant. When we discover him in the jungle of life, it is as if we opened a beautiful Indian casket made of fragrant sandal wood and inlaid with ivory and precious stones. Within are found marvellous herbs, goldened by the sun, the aromas of the soul.

*Aryavarta* is the land par excellence of sages and saints. At least, it was in ancient times. I was going to meet this saint at Madras.

It is evening. We are coming back from the Seven Pagodas, where we have been contemplating the beautiful "Descent of the Ganges." On the lovely route taking us back to Madras, our chauffeur puts on speed and we spin along at nearly seventy miles an hour. We are afraid of missing our appointment. But, we shall arrive in time, for here is Madras with its bright lights. At the hotel we hasten over our dinner and off we start towards the bazaar quarter, where our saint lives. Every evening, crowds come to see him. He has been acclaimed in all the great towns of India. At this moment, he exhibits himself before me on enormous advertisements posted at the entrance to his dwelling. He is a very flashy kind of a saint, are you thinking, good at least to join the cinema stars.

You are right. Tukaram is his name. Everyone is speaking of him. He died in the 17th century. He is a saint of yesterday. We are before a Hindu cinema. Oh! not luxurious, just a big wooden hut. We follow the crowd which is composed only of Indians of both sexes. Here is the hall, containing wooden benches with backs; at the end is the screen. We install ourselves. Before us are some young Hindu girls with their parents, sprays of jasmine twined in their rich black hair. A murmur of conversation. Hindus are rather good chatterboxes.

Darkness suddenly falls over the hall. Silence. The life of a saint is being shown, the life of the Poet Saint Tukaram. A Hindu film, *pukka* Hindu, turned by Indians, played by Indian artists. A film which has been running for months in most of the Indian cinemas and translated into Tamil, Hindi,....

Tukaram is one of those poet saints of whom Indians are justly proud. They represent an aspect of Indian culture, above all, of Marathi literature. They have had a great influence on the history of India. These poet saints did not know the narrowness of dogmas nor of castes, their mission being to enlighten the masses. They

preached and sang liberty of soul by the mastery of the passions. They tried unceasingly to raise the moral level of their contemporaries by showing them, in the harassing life of every day, the great eternal realities. This was the aim and work of Dnyaneshwar, of Namdev in the 13th century, of Eknath in the 16th century, of Tukaram in the 17th century. Their poems have become the Bible almost of the poor, of the disinherited.

The life of Tukaram is touching in its simplicity. In the film, it is sketched in large traits. Pretty Hindu music, slightly modernised, makes a fitting accompaniment. Tukaram was born in 1628 at Dehu, in the Bombay Presidency. His father was a farmer and also the owner of a grocer's shop. In his childhood, as afterwards in his mature life, Tukaram followed in his father's footsteps and gave his tribute of devotion to the divinity, Vitthal, one of the forms of Vishnu. He became an orphan at an early age. Helped by his brother, he continued in his father's occupations. He married and had a son. When he was about twenty years of age, a terrible famine ruined him completely and, moreover, he lost his wife and son. Tukaram struggled desperately against misfortune. He married again, but alas! his second wife had such an abominable character that hell commenced for our poor poet. In the film, we see him constantly the butt of the terrible tempers of this shrew, as yet untamed. But in Tukaram there flowered that innocence of heart that is the peculiar heritage of saints. To the reproaches and shouts of his wife, he opposes his gentleness, his serene philosophy, which he expresses in his poems and sings to the accompaniment of his vina. In his simple peasant's dwelling, in the fields, seated under a banyan tree, he contemplates Nature, loses himself in her in a communion so profound that he becomes a true bard of goodness, duty, brotherhood. His soul becomes sensitive to the least breath of humanity's great suffering and acquires the faculty of discerning the snares of life, the subtle treachery of men, all that makes a calvary of existence.



The story, as it is narrated in the film, shows us a Brahman of dissolute habits, trying by his perfidy to ruin the growing influence of Tukaram. (This debauched Brahman, profiting by his position of priest to extort money from his faithful, is, moreover, well hissed by the spectators.) But Tukaram foils his intrigues. Nature, sometimes prodigal towards her true sons, brings him rich, abundant harvests which, in spite of the reproaches of his angry wife, he distributes among those who are in need. Saintliness grows in him, his radiance draws those who weep, those whose hearts are too heavy with misfortune. He comforts, he aids, he sings the truths learned in the solitude of his heart. He knows evil most certainly, nevertheless its wild wave no longer reaches him, it stops, it breaks before the dike of his love. His face with its almost childlike expression is a lamp which enlightens the way. His smile is so enchanting that in its magnetic contact, even his wife, in the evening of Tukaram's life, becomes tamed and peaceful and understands that love is of more value than hate. And both of them, according to the film, mount after their death to *Swarga*, the dwelling of the gods, where all is peace and silence.

What a beautiful life ! What a beautiful film, in which in spite of some unskilfulness and naiveté, which are moreover charming, reigns an atmosphere that enchants our soul, our eyes, and also our ears by the subtle and moving music.

As for the Hindu crowd, it throbs with all its heart. It weeps in face of poor Tukaram's misfortunes. It rejoices with him in the measure that he transforms himself and becomes a saint. It listens ardently to his poems, which are, in reality, as many counsels for the little duties of daily life.

*"How can you unite yourself to the Supreme, oh ! poor fools, by living a worldly life ? How can you find joy in a heap of valueless objects which possess nothing essential ? It is foolish to expect to sleep a happy, peaceful sleep on an infected*

*bed. Wine will surely render a drunkard unconscious even of the stuff which enfolds him and he will scorn the advice that is given to him" . . . sings Tukaram.*

*"What good is it to be well-groomed exteriorly when interiorly our mind is filthy and covered with thick layers of lies that have accumulated during the years of our existence? Purify your mind and your language, do not be hypocrites, and be always a witness of what is passing in your mind. Why do you touch this earth, which is forever holy, when you do not even care about the merit or the guilt which results from your actions that are polluting the earth as well as your body, rendering them ungodly? Why do you not purify yourself, sanctify yourself, by freeing yourself from lust and anger? I entreat you to realise that you are the true way by which to acquire purity and saintliness, try then to follow it." . . . sings Tukaram.*

*"Old age whispers in my ear that death is approaching with long strides. Oh! my spirit, hasten thyself, I beseech thee, to discover the place where eternal blessedness is found, so that you may try to realise it. The last moment will be of short duration, because death is lying in wait, watching. It is why I pray you to free yourself from all attachments or false and unreal connections and prepare yourself to meditate on the deity of your family." . . . sings Tukaram.*

Tukaram! Your songs, your smile, your brotherhood are still discernible in this overturned world. They awaken echoes in some hearts, which is one more proof that we should not despair of humanity and that we may aspire to the day, still very far off, no doubt, when multitudes of men and women will sing the old-as-time poems in their homes. The poem of holy work which ennobles; the poem which makes man a free being, free by the unfolding of his spiritual consciousness, free of hate, free to think; the poem which brings to birth peace in the humble homes of men; the poem by which those who have become truly men hear the whispering of Nature, are aware of the little ant

which passes across the path, of the bee so busily engaged in her task, aware of the wind murmuring through the great pine forests, aware of the smallest aspirations of humanity's heart. Then, then only, shall we be able to say that the poet saints were right to sing life as it is and not as we believe we see it. Then, we shall come out of the dim blind alleys of hypocrisy and egoism to enter into the open, luculent glades of true spiritual values reconquered.

Be watchful. In life, there come mysterious meetings, very simple ones too, which show how strange are the ways of destiny. Tukaram has sung his life. We also ought to try, as well as we can, to sing our life. This melody must arise one day. It may be awakened by the chime of a bell, by a garland of fragrant jasmine, by a blue smoke spiralling upward on a summer evening, or by the meeting with a being. It is then a glance, a smile, a word, above all else a silence between ourselves and this being.... Afterwards, it is a sound.... The marvellous song begins. The sweetness of living is discovered. It is the light of life.

## CHAPTER XV

### ON THE ROAD TO MALABAR

ON our return from Madras and Conjeevaram, we pass through the rich region of Salem where the women are celebrated for their beauty. It is true, they are very pretty. Such charm in their graceful gestures and deportment! The Madrassi saris, too, with their vivid colours, add a special brightness to their wearers.

Very far off, on the horizon, we see appearing once more the faint outline of the beautiful Blue Mountains. How we rejoice to see them again on this radiant August morning! We catch a glimpse of the enchanting summits wrapped in their eternal muslin of blue mists.

Before commencing the ascent, Ragwan, our "boy," goes to fetch, I do not know from where in the ravishing village of Mettupalaiyam nestling at the foot of the mountains, a succulent meal that we absorb under a shady vault of great green palms. What a gamme of spices in this curry which is composed of rice, potatoes, cauliflower, curds, pepper water, all served on large banana leaves! Rarely has a Hindu curry seemed to us so good.

....And this morning, very early, after a last and brief sojourn at Ootacamund on the heights of the blue and fragrant mountains, we are again *en route*. For hours and hours, we roll along, but they seem short in spite of the fatigue of the journey and the dust. There are so many things to see, above all to remember.

The car is overloaded with luggage, beddings (mattresses, blankets, pillows....). For weeks, we shall be travelling over thousands of miles taking us from the shores of the Indian Ocean in the South to Bombay, passing through

the State of Coorg, over the parched plains of Hyderabad, then Ajanta, Nasik, the Bombay Presidency, and afterwards....Europe.

At present, our goal is the Coast of Malabar, Telli-cherry, where we expect to arrive this evening about 7 o'clock. In spite of our heavy load, we spin along at a good pace on the route for Mysore, after having zigzagged warily down the steep, thickly-wooded slopes of the Blue Mountains. Mysore! the city of gardens and palaces. We are going to see it once more but it will be only a fleeting view as we pass rapidly through it. They are so far off now, those days passed in roaming through this incomparable Hindu town which shelters the goddess Chamoundi, ensnared on her hill resembling a great nave.

Crack! Explosion! Break down. So much the better! While the chauffeur is doing the repairs, we shall be able to lie down under the cool shade of a banyan tree. Right here is one, in a field bordering the route. How delicious to stretch oneself on the green grass which smells so sweet! All is calm, peaceful, pastoral in the immense plain of Mysore where clusters of palms and coco palms make refreshing spots of green on the landscape. In the distance, far behind us, the beautiful Blue Mountains are still faintly visible. Birds are warbling in the trees. A few passers-by on the route. The sun grows hotter. It is 10 o'clock in the morning. Grasshoppers are singing gaily in the tall grass. Above my head, in a banyan tree aged several hundreds of years, whose branches are drooping down to the earth to take root, some monkeys look at me with an astonished air. They are doubtless very displeased. What has that one come to do here? they seem to be thinking. They scratch their heads, they frown, they jump from branch to branch with anxiety. I think they finally come to understand that I love them, that I will do them no harm—although I am not a Tularan—because they quieten down and begin again in a neighbouring tree their reckless, happy gambols.

I almost fall asleep and I dream, not of a rapid automobile but of a bullock-cart (an ancient cart harnessed with buffaloes or zebus) which carries me slowly, hither and thither, for months and months along the routes of India....

My dear travelling companions call me. The repairs are finished. My dream melts away. We swallow up the miles. The banyans, the villages, the people fly past like shooting stars. We must be at Mysore by mid-day. Speed! Always speed. Why, oh God? To go quickly. More quickly. Stop! Before us, a bullock-cart. The chauffeur honks. The cart, which certainly dates from Vedic times, does not move. Or rather, it moves, it continues its little trot in the middle of the road. The chauffeur slows down, honks, re-honks. The driver of the cart half raises himself. Without doubt, he was fast asleep. With a special shout to suit the occasion, he directs his animals on to the side of the road by pulling their tails. But, as always, they go in the opposite direction and nearly overturn the cart into the ditch. What a confusion! My soul feels for the driver who salutes us with a good-natured smile, the zebus also, I believe.

We do not go far. Another bang. Another breakdown! We are overloaded. Humiliation for the machine.... Triumph for the bullock-cart which trots past us. Repairs and we start again, slowly this time, which enables us to contemplate at our ease the hill of Chamoundi looming little by little out of the distance in a haze of gold. On the left, before the town, under the drooping fronds of palms, are the royal tombs in the form of pagodas, where are gathered the ashes of the Maharajahs of Mysore. And now come the broad avenues of the city, bordered by sheltering trees; the palace of the Maharajah, the big square, the little low houses in the shady streets. It is two o'clock in the afternoon. Few people are about. It is the siesta hour. We are late by our time-table. We glide along through the vast parks filled with masses of

flowers. Gladioli, gigantic clematis, heliotropes, roses, are still a dazzling array under a green canopy of great vines.

....In the cool shade of majestic oaks. A powerful mind is playing its, deep tones on the organ of their oaks, accompanied by the cawing of crows. Pardon me. The noise is here. Bismarck, bread, cheese, bananas, and pineapples. Hundreds of crows were everywhere around us. They are hungry, the poor things. Oh! one of them, more audacious than the rest, makes a sudden dash with his hungry, yellow beak, seizes a beautiful slice of bread-and-butter that our conversation was holding in her hand and carries it off. What impudence! He might have carried away her finger too. No matter. We forgive him, it is a crow.... of India. However, he overdoes it. He is coming back, still coming in a very amusing manner. It is like human beings, they have and they wish to have more. That reminds me of a good story which was told to me one day in the Blue Mountains.

Once upon a time, there was an ascetic who lived alone in a cave. Each day, he washed his one piece of clothing. But, alas! each day the mice gnawed away a little more of the poor garment while it was drying on the grass in the sun. The ascetic thought: "I ought to have a cat." The next day, he had one. A few days afterwards, the cat died for want of milk. "I ought to have a goat," murmured the ascetic man. Some good people offered him one. However, the goat, then the little goat, the victim of legitimate love, the new cat, all of them turned the ascetic away from his meditations. "I ought to take a wife," was the sudden and simple thought which came into his mind. Then, he married. The wife of a goat for two and a cat is very little. With the family that resulted, the couple bought a cow. It was necessary to have a stable, and a hut instead of a cave. The cow, the cat, the cat, and the wife obliged the ascetic to hire a field. Some years after all these innovations, our saintly man had become the greatest capitalist of the village.

Such is life in this funny, upside-down world.

....These reflections do not hinder us from saying goodbye to Mysore, to its fairy gardens, to Chamoundi enthroned aloft on her hill.

The route again. We pass Seringapatam, where there is a pretty temple, celebrated for its pilgrimages. It stands under the cool shade of a girdle of fig trees. At the end of the village, stands the ancient fortress of the Sultan Tipoo. Since the long-ago battles in these parts between the French and the English, Nature has regained her legitimate rights. The vegetation is luxuriant and rich and the sacred river, the Cauvery, which will soon swell with monsoon rains, still brings freshness to the surrounding countryside.

We stop an instant in order to enter an old cemetery where, under crumbling and forgotten tombs, French soldiers of bygone days are lying. Humble heroes of a day. What melancholy in the warm wind which gently fans the little flowers growing up here and there in the cracks of the mossy tombstones. Their effaced names will never be read again!

We also visit the exquisite palace which was formerly the favourite retreat of the Sultan Tipoo. The interior is admirable, full of paintings and fine sculptures, which recall to our minds the Palaces of Ispahan. In the beautiful park with its sleeping waters, rises the mausoleum where the Sultan was buried. But we are obliged to leave this lovely spot, full of silence, broken only by the birds singing in their flowering solitude.

At a fork of the road, we leave on our right the way leading to Brindavan, the "Versailles" of Mysore. Two months ago, we passed a beautiful evening there beside one of the largest artificial lakes in India, which supplies the whole of the surrounding country with its waters. The engineers who executed this gigantic work have united utility to beauty. There, where formerly extended vast scorched and parched plains, today, not only do beautiful and abundant harvests come to enrich the country,



but vast terraced gardens adorned with cascades, fairy fountains, glowing in the evening under the play of electric lights, make this corner a place full of charm and magnificence. Decidedly, the State of Mysore is remarkable from all points of views. As said the French historian, J. Michaud, in 1800: "The plains of Mysore are the most magnificent dwelling that Nature could offer to men on the earth."

We are now travelling along a route bordered on each side with immense forests, a nearly impenetrable jungle, the haunt of wild elephants and tigers. We quicken speed, the eternal speed, so as not to journey during the night in this rather formidable jungle, which has, however, a luxuriant, revelling beauty. We repress the temptation to stop again. C. looks at his watch with anxiety. Five o'clock in the afternoon. In these wild, wooded places, it is night about seven o'clock. We race along. The coast of Malabar is still far off, very far. We have to cross a mountain chain where the domination of the jungle extends its sovereign sway. What does it matter! Our eyes and soul are so filled with beautiful visions that it makes up amply for everything.

....Six o'clock. The route descends in zigzags. It is the magic hour. The rays of the setting sun have set the *ghats* on fire. The jungle becomes red, then violet, mauve. This wonderful scene makes us forget our hunger. Doleful discovery! Our boxes of provisions are empty. At each village we pass through, it is impossible to find anything at all, not even three bananas. There is nothing left for us to do but to think of the royal *pilaf* which is waiting for us at Tellicherry. Very prosaic, these thoughts!

Night has come. The route still zigzags down the ghats towards the Indian Ocean. Broken with fatigue, we doze. That lasts for five minutes, ten minutes.... Bang! A sudden halt. We wake up. I ask what is the matter. Another burst tyre, to a front wheel this time. I look at my watch; it is midnight. I have slept for nearly

three hours. Where are we ?

Benumbed, we get out of the car. The jungle, the vast, teeming jungle surrounds us on all sides. C. is happy. He is again in his jungle which he loves so much. A few poor houses of wood, a little bridge, the clear singing of a brook, the white ribbon of the route descending towards the far-away sea, some turbanned men who have come to look at us. A landscape of jungle illumined by a full moon, the magnificence of which in India is of indescribable beauty. What sweetness in the mild air ! And over all.... a *noise*. The noise of the jungle. The pulsing life of the jungle. It is something prodigious. The croaking of frogs, the cristal flutes of toads, the hooting of night birds, the ceaseless tricksome song of crickets, the cheeping of innumerable insects, beasts of darkness crawling in the tangled undergrowth, making the dead wood crack, the desolate howls of chacals, the roaring of a far-off tiger, the trumpeting of a wild elephant, the sougning of the night wind that can hardly make its way through the thick, heavy fronds of the trees, and lastly, the dance of golden fireflies, myriads of living sparks which seem to have sprung out of an invisible fire. Moreover, from the throbbing earth mounts the perfume of wild jasmine mingled with the dankness of ages. How thrilling are the nights of the jungle !

We start off again. We shall always remember this forced stop in the night.

....Two o'clock in the morning. The air becomes slightly fresher. We are nearing the coast of Malabar. Here are the first houses of Tellicherry bathed in moonlight. Coco palms fly rapidly past. Streets, where there are still some Indians chatting ; an avenue; a muffled roaring, the waves of the Arabian Sea. Another street. Houses the colour of milk standing under coco palms. The car stops at last. A bungalow: the house of our dear C....We are "at home."

The servants who no longer awaited us appear, their eyes puffed with sleep. We look over the spacious,

pleasant bungalow. Then a shower. Afterwards, the dining room, in which are two inestimable things: a cook wearing a majestic turban and.....on the table, the *pilaf*, the marvellous *pilaf* so long waited for!

Alas! We are no longer hungry. Fatigue overcomes all. Tomorrow, yes, tomorrow, we will eat it with joy in this bungalow that I already love so much! ....because of he who lives in it.

## CHAPTER XVI

### THE ENCHANTMENT OF THE COAST OF SPICES

I AM awakened by a hubbub made by some frensied crows and the querulous bleating of a goat. I pull up the blind. A riot of light blinds me for an instant. It is seven o'clock. On this dazzling morning at the end of August, the temperature is already hot. The monsoon is over, or nearly so, on the coast of Malabar. A few days ago was Coconut Day. This event marks the end of the major monsoon and is celebrated with great pomp. Thousands of coconuts were picked and amassed on the beach to the accompaniment of many songs and dances.

Around the bungalow, the sun's rays glint through the fronds of the palms which are swaying gently in the hot morning breeze. All is adorably green. The recent rains have washed away the dust of the preceding dry months. From my window, I can see the tender green carpet of rice fields on the other side of the route. The birds are carolling with joy to see the sun again after the monsoon deluges.

We go to find C. in his bureau with its big bay window opening on to a forest of coco palms. He is already at work, attending to the daily business of correspondence, which has accumulated during our pilgrimage. We leave him with his employees and look admiringly round his office which is furnished in such good taste. All the furniture is appropriately made of Indian rosewood.

After an excellent breakfast—of which we appreciate the juice of freshly-picked pineapple and the coffee with

buffalo's milk, served by Gopal, the Hindu cook, respectful and majestic in his turban—we stroll along to the Tellicherry Club, which is about five hundred yards from our bungalow.

The eternal carts drawn by zebus or buffaloes are jogging along the very animated road. All seems joyous. Tellicherry, with its 35,000 inhabitants, is a town which seems happy. The joy of living is written on all faces, in spite of the poverty which is here, as it is in the whole of India. Without doubt, among these poor people, poverty is roving everywhere, even around the charming bungalows which border the road. But at Tellicherry, the poverty is not in rags. The streets are clean; the *jekarts*, light carriages drawn by trotting little horses, drive gaily past; the houses hide under great green palms, as though to shield their happiness even if it be short-lived. What is the cause of this appearance of comfort? I am going to know.

The Club is a large building in Oriental style built on a promontory of rather low cliff and surrounded by extensive woodlands. It is, moreover, admirably kept by its secretary, a business man of the Coast, seconded by his charming and devoted wife. Mr. and Mrs. R. are Swiss, which is to say everything. Furthermore, they are excellent friends. The Club is a credit to them. People come from all parts of the South to enjoy its rest and good cooking. The drawing room, dining room, billiard room, the famous game of skittles, all are admirably arranged for relaxation, reading one's favourite books, games, enjoying gastronomic delicacies. On the first floor are comfortable rooms.

We go out on to the terrace with its white colonnade, from where the view is splendid. A delicious fresh breeze is blowing. Before us stretches the immensity of the Indian Ocean, whose long surge swells lazily over the foot of the cliff. The Arabian Sea, blue-green, irised by the myriad fires of the Southern sun, laps against the coast, the rocks, and an island with a dome of green palms, look-

ing like an emerald.

On the right and left are smiling bays, with almost rose sands, and, as far as the eye can see, thick forests of coco palms reaching to the marge of the Ocean. It is the Coast of Spices, the coast which smells good of cinnamon, nutmeg, pepper, ginger....Sailing on the sea are great olden-time boats with picturesque sails, carrying in their holds precious cargoes of spices, seeds, coconuts, destined for the far-off shores of Arabia and the Persian Gulf. Fortunate coast, whose gifts and beauty are provided by the earth, how could it not give a confident smile to its children who are nourished from its soil?

We are never weary of watching this scene. Sitting in the garden out on the headland, surrounded by velvety lawns, gay flowers, coco palms slanted by the sea wind, we listen to the murmur of the peaceful surge, while our eyes roam over the bays, the nearby river, the happy islands, over the immense translucent sea. Malabar coast! The birthplace of Sankaracharya, the great spiritual reformer, the philosopher, the mystic, one of the most extraordinary men of India.

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....Afternoon. After having enjoyed the savoury *pilaf*, so long looked-forward to, containing all the spices of the Coast, we set out to visit the port of Tellicherry, or rather, its beach, where great pirogues embark bales of merchandise, rice, coconuts, cashew nuts, superb blocks of rose-wood coming from the jungle through which we passed yesterday. This freight is then transported to big ocean steamers and placed on board, because there is no quay here, except for a jetty to which small coastal steamers come. Then, we turn our steps towards the picturesque river, with coco palms leaning over its banks. This is the place of repairs for curious old-time boats with raised prows and triangular sails, still permeated with the tenacious odour of spices.

We start off now by car for Cannanore, traversing

beautiful country where coco palms are predominant. On our left is the Indian Ocean. Along the furnace-like route, we admire the big parasol hats made of plaited fibre, which the Indians of Malabar wear. Here, the women generally wear white saris. Bright coloured ones, richly embroidered, are sometimes worn but chiefly by the wealthy class. As for the men, they mainly wear the eternal dhoti clinging round their legs or forming a skirt, but sometimes simply a shirt which floats freely over the hips.

Cannanore is a pretty town, as are most of the towns on the Coast of Malabar. The view over the sea is very beautiful. Here are made various objects of coconut shells: tea services, ash-trays, lamps, all encircled with silver or copper. The town was visited long ago by Vasco da Gama. We stay here for a short time and then return to Tellicherry.

This return is engraved with charm and sweetness. Twilight is falling over the Coast of Spices. A light haze, like a gossamer, of golden mauve spreads over the coco palms. Bullock-carts are plodding tranquilly home to their stables. Women and young girls, with their slender waists and prominent hips, are coming from the wells, carrying urns of copper or earthenware on their heads. In the villages that we cross, the little lights in the bazaars are already lighted and are showing up the colourful heaps of mangoes, oranges, bananas, pineapples, coconuts, baskets in sparterie, bottles of perfume, silver girdles and bracelets, while a pungent, overpowering odour of spices impregnates every bazaar. And in the humble dwellings, as in the temples, the beautiful lamps of Malabar are kindled, lamps formed of copper plates superposed and suspended on chains, the flame being fed by a wick soaked in coconut oil.

The sun has sunk behind the islands. It is the evening. Evening of dreams and of deep peace.

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The following morning. From the little headland before the Club, we climb down a staircase carved in the

rock, leading on to the hot rose sands. In the shelter of a creek, we plunge into the nearly blue water of the Arabian Sea. There is no fear of sharks off this coast. What a refreshing swim! We shall be fit for the tiring day ahead: errands in Tellicherry, lunch, and then *en route* for Mahé.

While waiting for lunch, from the beach we watch the return of the fishermen. The fishermen of Malabar profit by the ocean swell to cast their long pirogues up on to the beach. With a melodious chant, they draw up their canoes on to the rosy dune. The boats are full to overflowing with sardines and other fish, ray, salmon, soles. The depths of the seas which wash the Coast of Spices are as rich as its soil. How handsome and brave these fishermen look with their copper-coloured bodies. They sell their fish immediately, and it is then poured out into large plaited baskets. Afterwards, the nets, which smell good of iodine, are spread out in the sun to dry. At the next tide, they will start out again, untiringly. In their slender pirogues, singing in their captivating rhythm, they will pull off over a phosphorescent sea, under a burning sun or by the magic light of the stars.

#### MAHE THE SILENTIOUS

....Lunch is finished, the hour has come for our departure for Mahé, a fragment of French territory some miles from Tellicherry. It will not take long to cover the distance by car. Immediately after leaving the town, the route passes under a thick green vault of coco palms. Villages come one after the other. On the right, the great voice of the sea accompanies us. The wind is fairly strong. How pretty this road is, hemmed in between two banks entirely carpeted with wild ferns! It follows the contour of the Coast of Spices. Sometimes, it penetrates a little into the interior of the land, then emerges again towards the ocean. We catch sight of fishermen's hamlets, clusters of huts before which the fishing nets are spread out to dry in the sun and wind. On the left, the railway also follows the capricious windings of the coast. We pass a



train which, of course, is full. At its doors can be seen the eternal travellers smiling, chattering, and gazing at the landscape. After a detour in the route, we come to a bridge spanning a wide river. A Hindu cipaye with white gaiters, white belt, blue uniform, gives us a military salute and asks for our papers. It is the French frontier. On the other side of the bridge is Mahé.

Mahé of India! Mahé, so marvellously described by Pierre Loti nearly half a century ago, after he had spent several hours there.

We leave the car and walk over the bridge across the river of Mahé. On our right is the mouth of the river, where great breakers are dashing over the coast. On both banks is an uninterrupted forest of coco palms. It is three o'clock in the afternoon. Even under the coco palms it is hot, for the sea wind can scarcely find its way under the thick green vault.

Here we are then at Mahé. How calm everything is! We follow the meanders of the river and we come to a little square planted with sea pines and coco palms. In all French towns, there must be a square and some benches, as at Pondicherry and Karikal. It is the custom. Here then at Mahé, there is a square with benches and, in a corner....the statue of the French Republic. This place is pervaded with infinite charm. In the first place, at this hour, it is solitary. It looks over the vast ocean and over the mouth of the river. The opposite shore of the river is a mass of flourishing green foliage and a long sandy beach. On the left, at the end of the square, stands the Palace of the Residency, empty of Resident.\* One has to say "palace" when speaking of the domicile of the official representative of a great country. In reality, it is a large old-fashioned house, built on the headland. It looks like an old provincial mansion. We enter and visit its huge rooms furnished in the mode of a century ago: the reception room with its

\*This visit to Mahé was made in 1937. At that time, there was no Administrator.

antique furniture covered by protecting covers; the dining room; the Resident's bureau, like that of a provincial notary; the rooms on the first floor which lead on to a veranda. From this veranda, the view over the river, the trees, and the ocean, is magnificent.

There is a curious thing about the park. Whereas outside there are nothing but palms and coco palms, in the Residency park there are no tropical trees, so to say, but only one-hundred-year-old trees resembling chestnuts and superb Australian pines. It seems that the first inhabitant of this house wished to forget that he was in Asia, in the India of palms, in order to think but of his little far-away province somewhere in France. In the deserted alleys, romantic stone seats, covered with moss of years, have the air of waiting for Madame la Marquise, followed by her gallant lover in powdered wig and cuffs and collar of lace. But the illusion quickly vanishes, for around the headland the Arabian Sea is breaking with roars over the coral reefs, outside the gates the green vault of coco palms shelters the road, and nearby can be seen the fishing village with huts covered with dried palm leaves. We are certainly in India! There is also the Hindu servant who accompanies us to the gates and offers us with many respectful *salaams* a superb bunch of red roses.

We go now towards the centre of Mahé. We take—I was going to say the “main street”—let us say the sanguine street, full of shade. Parrots are screeching in the trees and birds from the islands are flying swiftly past. Here and there, huts shelter under the great palms, and bungalows with projecting roofs supported by white colonnades stand in the middle of an enclosure where roses, jasmine, and bushes of hibiscus make gay splashes of colour beneath the banana trees and coco palms. All is so calm at Mahé! All is silence. On the slightly mounting road, we pass a few Indians. They are in no way different from those on the other side of the frontier. They look at us with a surprised air. Now and then, we meet an ancient cart drawn by zebus, loaded with straw, creaking and grinding

in a very pastoral way.

Ah! the French flag. A heart-warming encounter. It is the Town Hall. A very simple little house. Then, we come to the great square, in reality this time, surrounded with coco palms and other tall trees. A group of young Hindus in semi-European costume—a dhoti and a jacket—emerges from a street and advances to meet us. They have recognised C. who is very much liked at Mahé and on the Coast of Malabar. They address us joyously..... in French. It is true. French Indians. Presentation. Surprise on the part of the young men. They know me well. They have read my articles on our pilgrimage in India which have been translated into English by a friend and published in the journal *The Hindu*, a daily of Madras. They ask for some details about our voyage and are glad to talk to some compatriots whose country they have never seen—their country—and that doubtless they will never see. They are handsome, these young men, full of life, with dark velvety eyes. What are they going to do in the future? For want of employment, they will expatriate probably, as do many others, to Indo-China or elsewhere..

With regret, we leave our new friends and continue our promenade towards the bazaar, because, of course, Mahé has a bazaar. It is not a very important one, there are not many shops, but they are there, with their hoard of merchandise, their stuffs, their fruit, and their great baskets. This quarter is a little more animated than the rest of the town. Fishermen, peasants, women with their children astride one hip. But all these people are silentious, hardly a sound.

Suddenly, a noisy crowd. A cipaye disperses the people with an authoritative wave of his arm in order to allow us to pass. With our colonial helmets, he certainly takes us for ministers and the wife of a minister on an official visit. In the middle of a circle of curious onlookers, a fakir is making some mysterious experiments. He contortions himself into difficult postures, dances on swords, jungles with flaming torches, swallows a variety of things,

and many other tricks that the crowd gazes at in silence, rather indifferent.

Leaving the fakir to his conjuring, as well as my companions, whom I shall rejoin later at a friend's house where we have been invited for dinner, I return alone along the shady streets already taken. They are a little more animated at this late hour. The hot wind grows stronger, it bends the great palms, and the muffled roar of the Arabian Sea drowns the scant sounds of Mahé the Silentious.

A heavy perfume rises from the earth: the perfume of spices. It comes from the threshold of a hut where a Hindu woman is preparing her frugal evening meal. On a polished stone, she is crushing seeds of spices which she will cook in some *ghee* (melted butter) and then mix with a handful of rice. For her, this will be an excellent meal. It pursues me, this odour of spices. It exhales also from the trees.

Some fresh, clear voices, children's voices. I am passing the school and the young students are just coming out. About fifty boys and girls, their books under their arms, are chattering among themselves. They return to their huts, or to the more comfortable family bungalow, without romping or shouting. These Mahé children are pretty. The boys are dressed in a white blouse and knickers. The girls in long dresses of different colours. Most of them, of course, are carrying an umbrella. It does not rain, it is marvellous weather, but...an umbrella is needful. It served during the monsoon, it serves now for the sun, in spite of the great palms which are natural parasols. The fact is that the parasol plays a great role in the life of every Indian. In the first place, it is a luxury, it looks well. Can it not be said also that it is symbolic? Certain bas-reliefs in the temples prove it to us. The gods are often sheltered under parasols. One could not receive with impunity the full rays of life's real sun. One must shelter oneself. The frame of the parasol represents the great Sages who radiate the light and warmth of Nature's heart. The handle is held by each individual and he can

put himself in touch with one of these Sages and thus receive the blessings of Life. But that is another profound story. Who in India remembers it? Doubtless, a few. But let us return to our children.

I speak to the school master, who is the last to leave the school. He is a young, cordial Hindu. He greets me with a smile and speaks to me in French tinged with a slight Malabar accent that causes his speech to be slightly clipped. I ask his permission to photograph his students. Immediately, he very kindly calls them. Some stifled laughter. It is an event. Some of the elder girls of about fifteen years of age, run away timidly. I gather together the youngest among them and their various poses are quite natural and unexpected. Then begins a conversation with the school master. He speaks of the progress of his pupils, for whom he has a deep attachment, and also of the difficult future for the boys who remain in the colony.

Happy children, in spite of all! That is what I think when taking leave of this good school master. If their life is difficult later on, they will have had a peaceful childhood, joyous and untroubled under the great palms of Mahé, beside the immense open sea, for all their present poverty. They will keep the remembrance of the long-ago happy days and it will be for them a fragrance sweetening the anxieties of their mature lives.

While these thoughts are running through my mind, I suddenly find myself again on the little square, near the Residency. Indian compatriots are occupying some of the benches and are chatting tranquilly among themselves, as they do each day, while gazing out over the ocean. I install myself on an empty bench and my eyes also are drawn towards the immense moving expanse, to the great waves breaking over the coral reefs. The tide is coming in. It swells the waters of the river. I watch the manoeuvres of a fisherman. Standing naked in water reaching to his waist he bends to and fro with a beautiful gesture throwing a net, which he then draws in and lets fall on the beach. It is full of sardines. On another part of the beach, some half-

naked little girls, their hair ruffled by the sea wind, are picking up sea shells. On my left, behind the palms, the Coast of Spices coils round and plunges down towards the South of India, towards Calicut, Cochin, and far, very far, towards Rameshwaram, Ceylon....

I am alone now in the square. Far over the ocean, on the horizon, the golden disc climbs down the sky in the face of the evening. The great palms become purple. The river, shrouded in the red radiance, is shimmering with a myriad ripples of fire. Everything is glowing. The coral reef between the waves, seem to be flames surging up from a deep-sea city, inhabited by Agni, the god of fire. An apothecary splendent with thousands of red rays. Suddenly, under Nature's invisible hand, all is transformed and turns to green-orange, mingled with soft mauve. It is the sacramental hour, the hour of recollection, when the Mother, the sacred Heart of all things, shows herself in her infinite compassion and love.

Mahé the Silentary falls asleep, peacefully, cradled by the song of the restless surge and fanned by the wind's cool breath fragrant with jasmine and cinnamon.

....In the clear night, under the vault of palms, I climb the route and wend my way towards the house of the friend where I am awaited. Another magic extends over Mahé. Through the fronds of the coco palms, lattice the silvery rays of the moon and the sparkling stars of the East. From the huts and bungalows, little lights twinkle out over the leaves of the banana trees. In the silence can be heard the flute-like laugh of a child and the crickets' tricksome tune, accompanied by the eternal song of the wind and the sea.

C's kind friends receive me with effusion. They live near the big square in a house half-colonial and half-European. In a large room on the first floor, with astonishment I see on the walls some old lithographs representing President Carnot, Loubet, and.... Queen Victoria. What a mixture! But, I am told that the grandfather of the family was for many years the mayor of Mahé.

Everything has an explanation.

In a pleasant atmosphere, we enjoy a delicious meal, composed of cooked bananas stuffed with raisins, rice with curry, chutnies containing the strongest spices of Malabar. After dinner, the two little girls sing, in their pretty voices, Hindu songs celebrating the glory of Vishnu and Krishna, accompanied by a cithare.

At our departure, this hospitable family puts into our arms a parcel containing a tea service carved by the father in coconuts and encircled with silver.

.... Goodbye, Mahé the Silentious ! In the car taking us back to Tellicherry, I turn round to see it for the last time. It is sleeping, dreaming, under the stars, cradled by the waves and the wind. Tomorrow, it will awaken under the green palms to the twittering of joyous birds.

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It is the last day, alas ! at Tellicherry. Tomorrow is the departure for our long voyage.

This morning, another swim. Then, errands to the bazaar and preparations : trunks, beddings, provisions for the journey.... At this moment, we have just finished lunch, a lunch in the preparation of which Gopal the cook surpassed himself. C. is lying on a sofa and we are both sipping coffee which has grown on the slopes of the Blue Mountains.

But, here is the cobbler, he is bringing me two pairs of shoes made to measure in two days. They cost three rupees the pair and will last for years. It is for nothing. Now, it is the proprietor, a huge Mussulman still young. He is bringing us some gifts: a beautiful silver cup and a superb Malacca cane surmounted with a buffalo horn. How generous these people are. It is true that the presence of C. is largely responsible for it.

Before dinner, we return to the Club. We wish to see the Coast of Spices for the last time. From under the white colonnade of the veranda, we look out over

the Arabian Sea. In a few weeks, we shall be ploughing through its mighty swell. Today, it is still more beautiful, more blue, more caressing. The rocks, the island, and the coast are fringed with white spray. The late afternoon air is incomparably sweet. In the joyous bays, the coco palms bow graciously, as if to salute this earth of abundance which yields its spiced perfume. At the foot of the promontory, reapulls are skimming exultantly over the foam-flecked waves.

Sometimes—not always—Nature can really stanch our moral wounds. It seems as if we ought to be able to feel her nearer to us. Respecting her, she would come to us and give us hope, confidence in our energies, lift us above the uglinesses, help us to forge a better humanity, in whom beauty would shine over the world, as this beauty here around us which enchants and which is manifested afar, even to the horizon, over the Coast of Spices....



## CHAPTER XVII

### THE FLUTE OF SHRI KRISHNA

**W**E are speeding along towards the temple of Somanathpur. I close my eyes an instant in order to review in thought all that we have seen since our departure from Tellicherry. So many things have passed in rapid visions during those two days.

At first, at C's bungalow, there were the touching goodbyes of the servants, the employees; the car full of bananas, pineapples, cakes, gifts to the wanderers that we are. Then, mounting the *ghats* into the immense jungle on a delicious early morning freshened with fragrant dews, we thence traversed the State of Coorg where tigers and wild elephants hold their sovereign dominion. We left them to their solitary combats. Afterwards, we crossed on a bac—with much emotion on account of the car—a river swollen by monsoon rains, and thence arrived at one o'clock in the afternoon at Mercara, a little town situated at an altitude of about 6,000 feet, from where we obtained a beautiful view over the mountains and plains.

We had our lunch on the edge of a bank to the accompaniment of a concert of coocoos and grasshoppers, and then started off again in the midday heat in order to arrive late that same evening at Belur. The next day, we visited its beautiful temple, as well as that of Halebid. These temples are pure marvels of Hoysala architecture. There is not an inch of stone that is not sculptured with an art pushed to the extreme. The ceilings of Belur and of Halebid are admirable with scenes from the lives of the gods. On the West side of the temple of Halebid, a Shiva dancing and another Shiva with his tambour are arresting by the life and rhythm in their movement.



Somanathpur Temple



Now, as we are spinning along towards Somanathpur, all these pictures of temples class themselves in my mind with the country passed through. My mind becomes a lovely album whose pages I have only to turn.

The route that we are following is as pastoral as could be wished. Villages built of beaten earth standing in the middle of palm groves; rice fields; hills covered with green foliage; the inevitable bullock-carts jogging along loaded with straw; women carrying on their heads large baskets filled with stalks of sugar cane.

A little lake on our left and soon after we arrive at Somanathpur. It is the 29th August and a burning hot afternoon. I have special reasons for hastening to visit the temple. Today is Krishna Day. Ever since this morning, my thoughts have turned towards a deep, moving subject of meditation.

"The Day of Krishna!" It is a special day in India. A very great fête. All the devotees of Shri Krishna, and there are millions, celebrate this day with solemnity. It is at Mathura, in the North of India, that the great fête takes place, because there is the birthplace of the Lord. But, in the temple of Somanathpur, I know there will be a statue of Krishna and before it I want to recollect myself and think of the "Mysterious Lord."

Apart from a few Hindus who are strolling through the great court of the temple, we are the only visitors. The deep silence of the noonday heat reigns, silence broken only by the joyous calls of swallows and by the wind swirling under the stone vaults.

In the middle of a quadrangle, surrounded by a gallery with sculptured pillars, stands the temple. It is in the same Mysorian style as Belur and Halebid. Although it is of modest dimensions, it is certainly the most symmetrical and the most finely sculptured of all the temples in this style.

The temple dates from the 13th century. It is built on a stone platform, to which one gains access by a few steps, and is surmounted with three pyramidal towers

that are veritable jewels of architecture. From top to bottom, the whole temple is an *orfèvrerie* or rather a lace-work in stone. On the base, outside, are sculptured epic scenes from the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramajana*. Above, the gods and goddesses of the Hindu Pantheon are sheltered by a canopy or by parasols. One can never weary of looking at this beautiful sculpture which reveals the patience and the skill of the artists of that epoch.

Inside, the temple is rather sombre. A surprise. I am brought to a standstill before a stone image of Janardana that I certainly never thought to find here. It is one of the names given to Krishna and signifies "He whom humanity adores." He is standing and holds a sceptre in each hand.

However, it is not that particular figure, beautiful as it is, that I want to contemplate. It is another. I peer into the shadows, admiring the ceiling on which Rama is represented in the attitude of blessing Sita, who holds a sceptre in her hand, and then I perceive in a cellule on the South side of the temple a stone figure, barely distinguishable in the gloom, which nevertheless attracts me. It is the one.

Shri Krishna stands in his classic pose of such infinite charm, playing on his flute. He is in the centre of a sculptured portico; his right leg is crossed over the left one, his feet are bare, his ankles are encircled with jewelled anklets; his hips, slightly inclined, are covered with adornments; his two hands are poised over his flute in the gesture of a flutist, the fingers resting on the holes of the instrument, of which, unfortunately, a part is missing; his lips are half-open, as if in process of taking breath; necklaces are entwined around his neck and descend upon his naked breast; his head is crowned with a diadem. An admirable sculpture, of which the face is imprinted with a superhuman and serene beauty. Yes, it is Govinda, the divine Shepherd, thus called because he passed a part of his youth among the shepherds.

How moving is this evocation of the great Avatar

of Vishnu in this solitary temple through which howls the great wind from the plains! Still more moving on this day of days when the Hero of the Mahabharata is revered in millions of Hindu homes.

I move back a little and sit down on the carved base of a pillar so as to be better able to contemplate the statue. A whirring of wings sweeps over my head; it is a bat which I have disturbed. In the dim light, the figure and its gestures stand out still more strikingly. From it radiates an atmosphere of limpid peace. It seems, even, as though I am going to hear in a rapture, like the Gopis, the shepherds of old, in the lucent forest glens, the sweet melody of the divine flute, precluding the *Rasa* dance....

A passage from the *Vishnu Purana* comes into my mind. I transcribe it here:

*"Krishna, observing that the heavens were illumined by the autumn moon and that the air was fragrant with the scent of the wild lily, in whose chalice the bees were humming, desired to join in the Gopis' games... Thus it was that, surrounded by them, Krishna thought that a beautiful autumn night illumined by the moon was favourable to the Rasa dance. A great number of Gopis imitated the actions of Krishna and they roamed about reproducing what he had done. 'I am Krishna' said one, 'look at the elegance of my movements.' 'I am Krishna,' said another, 'listen to my song.' 'Wait miserable Kaliga,' said a third, clapping her hands as if in defiance, 'because I am Krishna.' .... At last the circle was formed. He took them all by the hand, one after the other, and led them to their places.... Then the dance commenced, accompanied by the music of their bracelets clinking against one another and songs celebrating the delights of autumn. Krishna sang the autumn moon, the source of sweet radiance, but the nymphs could only repeat the praises of Krishna.... They followed him in all his movements, fashioning their own on his. Every instant spent far from him appeared to them a myriad of years. In spite of the commands of*

*their husbands, their brothers, their fathers, each night they went to play with him. Thus it is that the Being without limits, He whose goodness excludes all human imperfections, takes the form of a young man among the wives of the shepherds of Varaja, scattering among the shepherds and their wives his essence which is disseminated like the wind, for in the same way as the elements of ether, fire, earth, water, and air, are contained in all creatures, so Krishna is present everywhere and in all things."*

What errors, what foolish comprehensions have been amassed around this dance called Rasa and the games between Krishna and the shepherdesses ! When it would have been so simple to see that in the legend Krishna is represented astronomically and that he symbolises the Sun, around which gravitate the planets and the signs of the Zodiac under the form of the Gopis. It is the same signification in the case of the dance of the Amazonas around the priapic image, as well as the dance of the daughters of Silo (Judges xxi), and also that of King David before the Ark of the Covenant. It is the zodiacal progression of man in the manifested universe.

Putting aside discussions, useless for the most part, as to whether Krishna is a myth or an historical figure, I want to think only of what he represents, remembering that myths are often truer than history.

Krishna ! Name so often repeated by millions of beings, what does it not represent ? He is the man who was born about 5000 years ago, who lived as a god among men, his brothers, and gave them the teachings of immortal wisdom, the light which could guide them, as well as the generations of the future, through the dark *Kali-Yuga*, the Black Age, full of horrors, which commenced for the world at the very moment of Krishna's death.

Krishna has many aspects. He is the man become, by his own efforts, more than a man. He is the man who is, at the same time, the divinity, the power of life, the symbol of all the *Nagas*, past, present, and future, the

Sages of all times. So he is truly, says Hindu philosophy, the Instructor of all men. He commenced to give his teaching, the teaching of all ages, on the *Kurukshetra*, the historical battlefield, and symbolical battlefield of life, the field of duty.

Before this image, I find myself murmuring some verses from the *Bhagavad-Gita*, the book which is, as said Emile Burnouf, "probably the most beautiful book which has ever come from the hand of man." Other thinkers have also said that it is "the book of humanity."

It is true. Because, the problems raised in the *Gita* are the problems of every age. If Krishna, in his discourses, addresses his disciple Arjuna, it is because Arjuna represents humanity. We are all like Arjuna. We all have our mind troubled by our egoism. In our bitter enjoyment of life, we lose sight of the path of duty towards ourselves, towards our brother men, towards our nation, and our race. Our cowardice, our great fear of responsibility, our pride, our hypocrisy, our hate, blind us. Happy are we if there remains within us, no matter how few, some noble aspirations, because then we can say, as did Arjuna, to Krishna: "I ask thee, what is it better for me to do? Tell me that distinctly. I see nothing that could assuage the grief which drieth up my faculties, even though I were to obtain a kingdom without a rival upon earth, or dominion over the hosts of heaven." (*Gita II*)

From the divine lips of the Lord fell one by one the answers to the questions of Arjuna, the questions of humanity. Each answer enables us to consider life in its true light, stripped of the veil of our illusions. This is the reason why it can be said, without any exaggeration, that the *Bhagavad-Gita*, signifying the "Song of the Lord," is a declaration of the Rights of regenerated Man. The *Gita* is the drama of life. It gives us the solution to the problems which are preoccupying us.

The *Bhagavad-Gita* is *par excellence* the Book of Democracy; that is what gives it its peculiar radiance. It



is not necessary to be a great scholar on the subject to perceive this. It unites all men in the same Principle which "resides in all hearts." If Krishna makes no distinction between races, castes, sects, he also shows us how men, nations, can sink in the typhoon of unchained passions.

*"Men of an infernal nature do not know emanation and return; purity is not found in them, nor order, nor truth".*  
(XVI)

*"They say that there exists in the world neither truth, nor order, nor providence; that the world is composed of phenomena struggling one against the other and is nothing but a game of chance. They deliver themselves up to violent reactions and are the enemies of mankind."* (XVI)

To what must we aspire? Such is the supreme question. The *Gita* answers that man must conquer liberty by the acquisition of virtues the most divine.

*"Courage, purification of the soul... knowledge.... temperance, meditation, integrity,*

*"Non-violence, truth, sweetness, compassion for all living beings, peace of heart, modesty, |*

*"Force, patience, purity.... such are, O Bharata, the virtues of him who is born to a divine heritage."* (XVI)

The message of the *Gita* is a universal call to Democracy, liberty for the peoples, liberty for each individual. The great affirmation of the *Bhagavad-Gita* is that every individual, whatever he may be, rich or poor, can and must raise himself on life's path and that he has a right to his emancipation, social, intellectual, and spiritual.

*"Even if thou wert the greatest of all sinners, thou shalt be able to cross over all sins in the bark of spiritual knowledge."* (IV)

Such is the solemn declaration of the essential principles of democracy. Not a single being is excluded from

the conquest of liberty. The philosophy of the *Gita* places this principle in the light: that nobility of heart is not the heritage of a caste, of a favoured self-styled *élite*, but the heritage of all men, all women, without distinction of race, creed, colour, or of social condition. Birth, family, religion, race, do not determine an individual's rung on the ladder of life; his own qualities, alone, denote his degree of evolution. Every human being has a right to happiness; the path of happiness is for all. Its end is peace.

In the *mêlée* of the world, millions of beings are precipitating themselves, as much in the hope of appeasing their physical hunger as their soul hunger, towards issues which are but cut-throat, competition, pitfalls, snares. Whereas, in reality, all in the great combat are aspiring but to liberty and peace. We juggle with these words, we play with them, and so they remain forever cold, far-off stars, inaccessible. In the words of the great Hindu philosopher, Vivekananda, in the last century: "It is better to die on the battlefield than to live a life of defeat! The entire universe labours. Why? For liberty. From the tiniest atom to the highest beings, all work for the same end: liberty of body, liberty of mind. All things strive to escape enslavement.... Work is inevitable, but we must work for the highest goal."

Work, action, in the *Bhagavad-Gita*, is that which ought to be undertaken by every being. At its base is our spiritual regeneration, as well as that of the whole of humanity. This has been pointed out by all the *Nagas*. It is contained in the *Sermon of the Mount*, in the message of the Buddha, in all the Scriptures. Without this regeneration, what is the value of life?

When one considers the world, immediately there come to mind the words of Krishna:

*"As the flame is surrounded with smoke, so is the world surrounded with passion." (III)*

But in the soul which is wearied with seeking itself

springs up the ardent desire to chase away the thick clouds of smoke in order to discover the flame of the world, the light which warms and enlightens hearts, the radiance of brotherhood.

*"The purified man sees the soul residing in all living beings, and all beings in the soul, when his own soul sees the identity of all the parts." (VI)*

What a long way has yet to be travelled towards the realisation of this universal solidarity! But, for every nation, their safeguard is and will be, more and more, the recognition of this universal, intangible, link which unites all beings. The *Gita* demands of a people, not to renounce itself as a collectivity, but to be *what it is*, its own peculiar genius, its beneficent, genial light; in a word, to manifest its divine radiance. To manifest this divine light is the work of nations, as well as of individuals. It is to become a cristal, pure note in the universal gamme of the world. That is the goal of life, according to the *Gita*. All the rest is but shadows and nightmares.

Life is a drama only when one considers it from the brutal side of matter. It becomes a most beautiful poem of love and liberty when man is pacified. He then soars aloft to the summits of Joy. He incarnates the free Laugh of life. He has become compassion, the law of laws, compassion for every living being.

*"As he has mastered his mind by effort, the man purified of his stains perfects himself through numerous births, and enters at last into the supreme way.... He attains the eternal, imperishable dwelling." (VI)*

Before reaching these summits, man, the pilgrim, must strenuously climb the narrow path leading up to them. Meanwhile, when the heart is too heavy, when sorrow is too great, when doubt falls like a leaden cloak over daily life, there comes the sweet and mysterious music of Shri Krishna's flute. Like the harmony of the *Gandharvas*, the celestial musicians of Indra's court, it

melts the clouds amassed during the black hours, it brings a divine message of confidence and hope. It is as a shield extended with love over the exhausted pilgrim's head..

....In the temple of Somanathpur, the stone figure looms out from the shadows. A ray of light rests on the face of Krishna. Above the wind of the plains swirling under the vaults, it seems to me that the flute of Shri Krishna sings melodies on this day of fête, the glory of life, the dawn of a new world, in the eternal verses:

*"Know, son of Pritha, that I am the pure fragrance of the earth; sound in the air; in the fire, its splendour; life in all beings; continence in ascetics.*

*"I am the virtue of the strong, exempt from passion and desire.*

*"I am the sacrifice, adoration. I am the offering to the dead.*

*"I am the way, the support, the lord, the witness, the resting-place, the refuge, the friend".....(IX)*

Oh ! Govinda. The Friend !

May we find, we also, the resting-place, the refuge, the friend who guides and inspires our life !

## CHAPTER XVIII

### THE REGARD OF A SAGE

**A** BURNING noon. Starting very early this morning, we have switchbacked for hours and hours over immense dried, scorched plains.

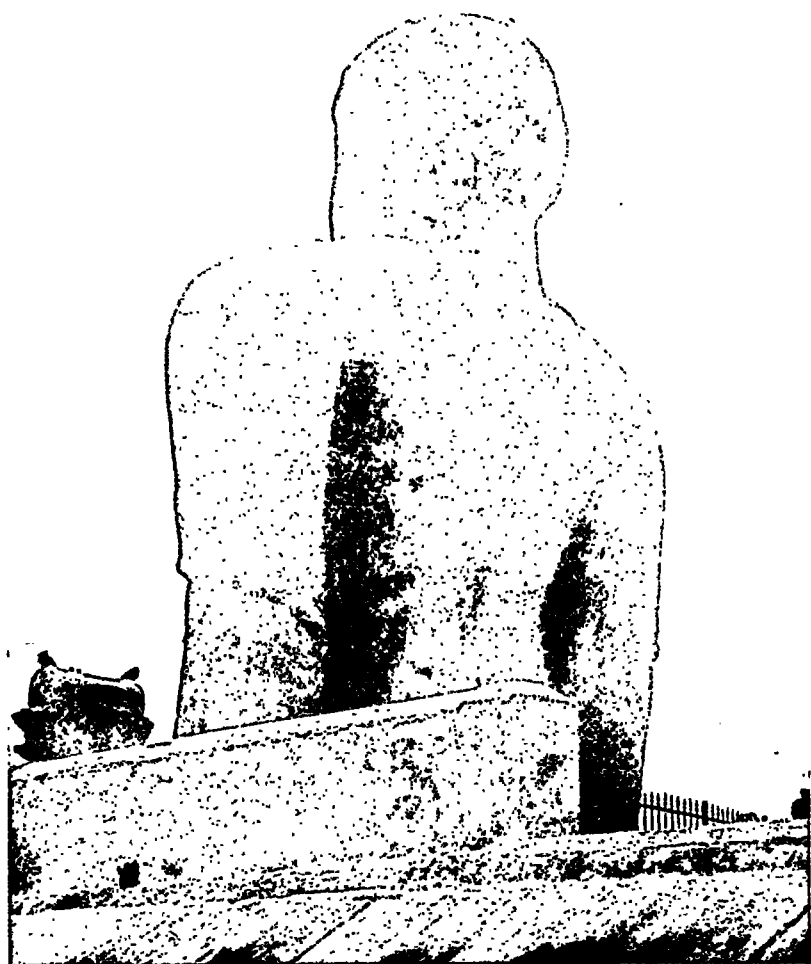
Now we enter a region somewhat less arid. From our oven-like car, we can see palm groves scattered here and there and pretty, tranquil ponds covered with flowering lotus.

We leave the main route and branch off to the left, along a road furrowed with ruts. Some miles in advance of us, we see two solitary rocks towering up from the plain. On the crown of the right-hand one rises a gigantic statue, dominating the whole of the surrounding region. On the other rock is another sanctuary. Between these two masses of rock, there nestles a cluster of houses. It is Shravanabelgola, to which we are going to visit its Jain temple.

The road, bordered with aloes and coco palms, gradually becomes more smiling. Some flowing streams, and immediately luxuriant green foliage appears. Then come the first humble dwellings of the village, little low ochred huts.

In the torrid atmosphere, we go to inspect the right-hand rock, up which we shall have to climb. An enormous rock of basalt, about 700 feet in height, on whose summit stands the Jain temple and its giant statue. At the foot of the rock is the sacred tank with stone steps descending into the water. The head of the statue can be seen from the road.

Here, we are in a great centre of pilgrimage for the Jains of India. But today, the streets are silent. It



**The Monolithic Gomateshvara at Shravanabelgola**



is the calm life, too calm perhaps or too dead, of little Indian towns. The few passers-by look at us in surprise. Visitors are not numerous at this season of the year.

We reach the foot of the great rock on the right and are immediately assailed by some young people, coming from I do not know where, who are anxious to sell us photographs of the temple and its statue. We look with an apprehensive eye at the mass of towering rock and finally, without courage under this sun of fire, we refuse for the time being to climb, barefooted, the five hundred steps leading up to the temple. We prefer to wait until later on in the afternoon.

After this heroic resolution, we regain our car, parked in the shade of a clump of trees, and swallow rather half-heartedly some of our picnic provisions. In this furnace, one's appetite marches *rallentando*. Moreover, in the air, vibrating under the rays of an almost vertical sun, the flight of the crows and vultures circling around the rocks seems even more ponderous than usual.

Overcoming our drowsiness, we make a tour of Shravanabelgola. It is two o'clock in the afternoon. Deep silence. Suddenly, a strange sound rings out: some blows struck at regular intervals on sonorous metal. The noise stops and then recommences. We cast an indiscreet glance through an open door into a dwelling and discover the cause. It is the hammering of the copper-smiths. Beautiful vases with graceful forms are made here, as well as trays, coffee pots, temple lamps, cups, on which are designed with precision the history of Rama and Sita, of Shiva, Vishnu, *Nagas* neighbouring with Hamsa, the celestial swan laying a golden egg in virgin space, symbol of the birth of a universe, and other images of gods. All are thus hammered out each day on copper vessels which are then sent to the various villages and towns to be displayed in their bazaars.

When the hammering, which is not too nerve-shaking, stops, nothing is heard in the silent little streets but the cawing of crows and the call of vultures. Then, the



surfaces day on again. Each man works in his own home. No families here. It is the triumph of the artist.

We soon around the rock and, at last, decide to climb the five hundred steps ascending to the temple. Up, up we go, barefooted, the walls of the rock being considered sacred. Oh! suffering to the soles of one's feet.

In the measure that we ascend, the hammering of the carpenter's diminishes. It seems no more than the dry tapping of birds' beaks on the tree-trunks.

During this painful ascension, we pass under a stone lintel sculptured on one surface with the image of Vishnu and on the other with two elephants. While we climb and the view expands more and more over the little town, hemmed in between its two rocks and sheltered under green palms, I think how holy the ground is on which we are treading. It was here, at Srirangapatna, that three centuries before our era the great Emperor Chandragupta Maurya, grandfather of Ashoka, retired to a solitary retreat after ruling a solemn town of absolute domination of all temporal affairs. One can still see the cave where he lived the remainder of his life as a contemplative ascetic. As in so many other places in India, the prodigious life of the Maurya dynasty stands out in its entirety. It follows you as a testimony powerful with wisdom.

Here we are, at last, on the terraces on which the stairways of the Jain temple are built. The view over the plains is marvellous, with great jagged hills rising up on the horizon. A young man, with head shaven and clothed in a white robe thrown over one shoulder in ancient fashion, comes to meet us. He is courteous and kindly smiles in his eyes. He is going to guide us in our visit to the temple which is sheltered on terraces of the rock.

The first stairway is elegantly colonnaded. On a rock in front of it rises a little pavilion in the form of a tower of which the construction is very curious, the car-

tral pillar being suspended in such a way that one can pass a handkerchief under its mass.

Mounting up twenty-five more steps, we come to the principal sanctuary of the temple. At the entrance, above the porch, are two sculptured elephants which are brandishing their trunks over a saint sitting cross-legged like a Buddha. The ensemble of the temple is of medium proportions, not the dimensions of the great Jain temple of Mount Abu. What silence reigns under the arcades ! And, happily, a little cooler too ! Some coco palms which have grown up in the exterior court give this sanctuary a smiling aspect that harmonises well with Jainism, a religion made up of sweetness and charity.

Our young monk, calm and rather silent, leads us into the interior court. And there, all at once, without transition, comes the impressive vision of the gigantic statue of Gomateshwara, the Jain saint. Gomateshwara, son of Vrishabha, is one of the twenty-four holy personages, the Tirthankaras, who raised themselves to the summits of wisdom; the last one being Mahavira, a contemporary of Gautama the Buddha.

Larger than a statue of Ramès, this one of Gomateshwara rises to more than 65 feet in height. It is carved out of a single block of stone and, under the hand of an unknown artist of the tenth century, its rough surface has become a remarkable work. Gomateshwara stands absolutely naked, his arms hanging beside his body. Climbing plants are coiling round his thighs and arms. The face is the calm face of a sage. The upper part of the body, from the waist to the top of the head, is under the open sky and rises above the roofs of the temple. We mount by a staircase on to the terraces in order to make a tour of the colossal statue and, at the same time, obtain the view extending over the immense switchbacking plains. During great pilgrimages, when thousands of Jains flock here in crowds from the South, the statue is anointed with oil perfumed with jasmine and incense, and the arcades are illumined with copper lanterns.

In this temple, everything radiates candour. It is seen in the elegant simplicity of the architecture, in the perfection of details of the ornamentation; it also hovers indefinably over the body of Gomateshwara, as over the face of the young monk who guides us and who speaks with such fervour of his religion.

Although Jainism is more ancient than Buddhism, there is a certain similarity between these two religions derived from Hinduism. The Jains deny the existence of a personal god but believe in the periodicity of the Universe and in the evolution of the soul through the law of successive incarnations. They say that the Buddha was the disciple of one of their holy Tirthankaras. This is the reason why there is nothing astonishing in finding statues of Buddha in their temples.

Our fervent young Jain narrates to us the life of Mahavira, who was the teacher of Jainism. He was born at Kundagrama in the Deccan in the sixth century before our era. In conformity with a vow formulated by Mahavira in one of his last incarnations on earth, he remained with his parents until the end of their lives. Meditative, silent, he then asked his brother's permission to become an ascetic, which was granted to him. For a number of years, he meditated and studied and became in his turn a *Jina*, a vanquisher of the world. Until his death at the age of 72 years, he preached his doctrine which resumes itself in this: the man who does no wrong to any other being, or to any living thing, attains the supreme peace of Nirvana, the peace between man and his brothers, the peace between man and animals, the perfect fraternity of all that lives.

And the young monk recites a Jainist scripture (*Uttara-āyayana*):

*"Living beings of every kind must not be beaten, nor treated with violence, nor maltreated, nor tortured, nor killed. And I tell thee, the Arhats (Sages) of the past, present, and future, all say this, declaring the same thing, expressing themselves thus: 'Living beings of all kinds must not be killed, nor*

*tortured, nor hunted. This constant, eternal, permanent, and true law has ever been taught by the Wise Men who understand all things.'"*

In the silence of the cool galleries surrounding the Gomateshwara, to which we have descended, we think of these madmen, these barbarians of Europe, who kill, pillage, and, like wild beasts, carry away millions of individuals, who assassinate entire nations under the pretext that the individuals are Jews and that they, the masters, have need of "vital space!" .... We think also of all those crimes of history, crimes so often repeated, wars, inquisitions, slavery; of the daily slaughter of millions of animals for the nourishment of brother-man; and we ask ourselves with anguish, as every Jain, every real Hindu or Buddhist would do: what will be the destiny of the men and the nations capable of all these crimes? How far we are from this Jain doctrine of *Ahimsa*, of *real* non-violence, which in reality is love and wisdom!....

One may laugh, perhaps, at these Jains who breathe through a veil of muslin so that nothing living may be absorbed by their lungs; one may smile, also, to see them avoid killing a fly, drinking only filtered water, eating only vegetable food for nourishment, abstaining completely from wine and alcohol. Yes, one may smile at certain naiveties, but at the base of their doctrine there are teachings that we might do well to hold and apply in our own lives. They would develop in us a great respect for Nature; they would liberate us from sad hate; there would spring up in us more compassion for every living creature.

It is with regret that we leave the young monk. After saluting us in the Hindu manner—joining his hands and passing them from his heart to his forehead—he disappears into the network of galleries, serene, self-controlled, silent, and reserved.

....In the little town nestling at the foot of the rock, the coppersmiths' hammers are now silent. The hush of

the swiftly-falling twilight extends over everything. Nothing disturbs the cool evening breeze but the flight, less ponderous now, of the crows and vultures and the gentle twittering of the birds who are recounting endless stories to each other in the coco palms of the temple.

A shadow grows in the sunset; it is that of the giant statue of Gomateshwara the Sage. He has been there for centuries. He gazes out over the plains and perhaps....  
..men !....

## CHAPTER XIX

### HAMPI—THE "CITY OF VICTORY"

**A**N active government, a prosperous city. Such is Vijayanagar, the "City of Victory," the cradle of the Empire of that name, and also the ancient capital of the feudal princes of the Hoysala dynasty. It was afterwards named HAMPI.

Every morning, in the dazzling sun, the people begin their work. The city hums with activity. The bazaar is rich and abundant; on each side of its broad main street, merchants are seated on plaited mats in their shops displaying their wares before the crowds of buyers. Some are spreading out rich silks sheened with blue, gold, or red, or stuffs in which are mingled orange and the tender green of rice fields; others are extolling the elegance of their copper vases, the flavour of luscious fruits, the fine chiselling on their silver girdles, the exquisite fragrance of their perfumes. All eyes are attracted to the rare jewels, emeralds, sapphires from Ceylon, pins for saris, bracelets, rings. There are also garlands of jasmine and roses for the temples. In the air floats an odour of spices. Little chiselled bells ring in silver-like or deep tones. Then, there is the money-lenders' corner, alas! where the lenders gravely count out their piles of money. In another corner are exhibited pious images in wood representing Rama, Sita, Hanuman, the monkey-god, Krishna, Radha his well-beloved, Vishnu, Shiva, Lakshmi, Saraswati, Ganesha, the elephant-headed god. All the gods and goddesses are there, as well as the great Educators. They live among the people, they came from the people, they have acted for them, they have given them rules for obtaining happiness, they have shown the people Nature's immutable laws, the means of raising themselves

above *samsara*, the ocean of births and re-births, so as to enter at last into the realm of *Sat*, eternal Truth. Yes, they are there, the gods and the Educators, present in the memory of all these people.

It is a splendid sight to see such a crowd on this radiant morning. The birds are carolling, parrots screeching, crows cawing, with the joy of living. The big, ardent black eyes of the women, clad in their multi-coloured saris, look tenderly at their laughing children; the men, their bodies like copper, have a brave, confident air; and the sacred cows roam peacefully about, swinging their great horned heads, stealing here a fruit, there a stick of sugarcane, completely deaf, or indifferent, to the shouts of the tonga drivers. It is the crowd of India, the one of all time.

It is good to live at Vijayanagar. Intelligent princes, uniting comfort and beauty, have made the town a remarkable city. We go towards the great artificial lake, sheltered between two hills, whose waters irrigate the rice fields in the surrounding plains, as well as the vast parks and flower gardens.

How gay the crowd is ! Some elephants are advancing majestically, flapping their great ears; they are the sacred elephants of the temples, they have just come from their morning bath and feel satisfied and refreshed. We have been told that there is going to be a great fête this afternoon, the fête of the Serpents. So much the better ! We shall thus be able to witness the magnificence of a great Hindu festival in honour of a famous cult whose origin is lost in the night of time. But before it begins, we have time to visit the town. It is, doubtless, the prospect of this fête which is enchanting everybody.

Coming back to the bazaar street, we perceive at one extremity the *Nandi Bull*, the sacred bull, with its imposing stature. On our way to visit the great temple, we pass under the Scales of the King, a stone portico under which is suspended an enormous pair of scales. The weight of the King, seated on one side of the scales, is measured in gold and precious stones placed on the other side. This measure

of wealth is afterwards distributed among the poor.

Following a narrow shady path, we come to the city's most beautiful temple, the temple of Vitthala, dedicated to Vishnu. This immense edifice is raised on a stone terrace richly sculptured with royal horses, its three entrances opening on the East, North, and South, are thronged with the incessant coming and going of the faithful accomplishing their devotional gestures of offering garlands to the divinity. The steps leading to the vast hypostyle hall are balustraded with enormous stone elephants. On each pillar, hewn out of a single block of granite, are carved gods and goddesses, and their massiveness is lightened by delicate colonnades. From the richly sculptured ceiling, hundreds of bats are suspended, indifferent for the most part, to the movements of the faithful going into the sanctuary.

In the great court is the *mandapam* or covered hall, in the same style as the temple. It contains a canopy in the centre to shelter the god and goddess during the annual ceremony of their marriage, which is celebrated with lavish pomp.

Before the temple stands the chariot for carrying the divinities during great fêtes. Generally, these chariots are of sculptured wood but this one has a speciality: it is of richly carved stone. The entry to it is guarded by two elephants, nevertheless the whole block gives an impression of extraordinary lightness.

We leave the temple with some regret in order to visit the centre of the town. We take a path following the windings of a wide river, which is bordered with banyan and mango trees and is delightfully cool and shady. At a turning of the path, after again crossing the bazaar street, we catch sight of the characteristic silhouettes of some Jain temples situated on the slope of a hill. Then we come to the temples of Krishna and Rama. All the principal personages of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* are united at Vijayanagar. On the North-East of the temple there is a pillar bearing a bas-relief representing Vishnu under the



form of *Avatar-Kalki*, the Messenger of Light, mounted on his white horse, as he will appear to humanity at the end of the *Kali-Yuga*, the Black Age, bringing concord among men.

We come now to a more silent quarter. What are those towers before us and that little palace over there in the Indo-Moresque style? We ask our guide. It is the *Zenana*, the *Lotus-Mahal*, the palace of the beautiful princesses. What grace in this princely dwelling supported by lofty pillars! On the only floor, open little windows, each with a wooden shutter. Not far from the temple of love is the princesses' swimming pool. The surrounding towers are reserved for these beautiful visitors who can thus see over the town without being seen by the crowd.

A far-off trumpeting brings us back to other realities. Everything is so surprising in this town! A group is forming before a long, tall building surmounted with stone cupolas. These are the famous stables of the sacred elephants, or rather the tall stalls, numbering eleven. Their keepers are very busy because the animals must be prepared for today's fête. Heavy gold draperies, palanquins with light little colonnades, are placed on the backs of the elephants who balance them somewhat impatiently.

Time is flying. There is so much to see! We return towards the centre of the town where the crowd is becoming more and more dense, and the temperature, at the same time, growing hotter. We look rapidly at the Queen's bathing pool, built in the same style as the *Lotus-Mahal*. From there we come out on to a vast square containing the Terrace of the Throne, a massive construction in granite on the base of which are sculptured processions of warriors, elephants, horses, camels, and *Apsaras*, dancers of Indra's court, whose movements represent the gestures of the gods. On this terrace is a throne of solid gold, the seat of the King when he is viewing the prestigious fêtes of the court.

Suddenly, from the beginning of a street, music bursts forth. It comes from a long procession which is advancing preceded by musicians either playing on instruments re-

sembling long clarionets, or beating on tom-toms or silver cymbals. Banners embroidered with the swastika are suspended like canopies along the streets. The fête of the Serpents has begun.

The thresholds of the Hindu houses are decorated with the emblem of the day. *Nagas*, serpents, are represented everywhere. Brahmins carry in their arms statuettes in gold or silver on which the serpent-god is carved in relief. Enterprising beggars are carrying large baskets of live serpents from house to house, so that devotees may feed them on the threshold of their homes and thus bring happiness and prosperity to their families.

The animation is intense. Many villagers have come from the environs of the town, because, according to custom, one must not dig the ground on this sacred day for fear of killing a serpent by accident. Moreover, no fruit, no vegetable is gathered or dug up, nor is any tree cut down, the *naga*, the serpent, being closely linked to the spirits of the trees and the earth.

The music continues untiringly and the procession, swelling more and more in proportions, winds slowly onward towards a hallowed spot outside the town. All the streets are decorated with flags. Here come the elephants, their keepers gravely perched on their necks, from where they direct their steeds with a click of their tongue. In the palanquins, with curtains drawn, are—one guesses—the princesses robed in beautiful saris of silk and gold and fragrant with the most rare perfumes.

The crowd moves on without haste, opening in order to let the tongas pass, in which are squeezed whole families or fat Brahmin bourgeois unable to walk for long and for whom the length of the route would be exhausting. Near us are walking some beautiful young girls, their lovely round amber arms encircled with gold bracelets. One of them is wearing a green sari bordered with silver thread, another is clothed in night-blue, another in yellow spotted with blue, still another in red spangled with gold. The play of the sun's brilliant rays on these different colours,

each the chosen fancy for the day, and on the gaily decorated streets, resembles the dazzling palette of a wizard artist.

Following the crowd, from which exhales the pervasive odour of jasmine, one sees the image of *nagas* everywhere. They rear upward on all the temples or shelter with their heads the figures of gods. In Vedic times, at the dawn of our Aryan race, the serpent was considered sacred, especially the cobra. It was king of the soil, the guardian of treasures, the one who kept vigil over the magic stones.

A man nearby, following the procession, is chanting a *mantram* from the *Yajur-Veda*:

*"Homage to the serpents !  
Move they on the earth,  
Be they in the air or in the sky,  
Homage be rendered to these serpents !*

*"Be they arrows of wizards,  
Or of spirits of the trees,  
Or repose they in holes,  
Homage be rendered to these serpents !*

*"Be they in the brilliance of the sun,  
Be they in the rays of the sun,  
Have they made their dwelling in the waters,  
Homage be rendered to these serpents !"*

And the invocation continues in rhythm with the man's pace. Symbols ! Symbols ! reminding us of the presence of the great Saviours of the race. Where their presence shines in the hearts of husband, wife, children, they are the protectors of that home; they are the guardians of the magic stones of knowledge; they ever keep vigil, in their great renouncement, over the progress of humanity.

Symbols empty of sense for some, perhaps. What does that matter if, in the slow circling of the centuries, there are some beings who discover the Sages ! "A Mahatma is difficult to find," said Krishna to Arjuna. Every great soul is found with difficulty. Here, in India,

as elsewhere, charlatans are numerous. Woe to those who go to these showmen of apparitions ! Woe to those who assume a title which does not belong to them by right, by the nobility of their character !

Wisdom is an alluring sea whose surf and reefs are dangerous. The sirens of islands beneath the sea often light, say the fables, beguiling fires in order to attract into their caverns travellers such as we all are. Happy are those who fix their eyes on the solitary beacon kindled by the *true* Sages, whose eternal flame will never be extinguished. Symbols of divine truth have not been invented for the amusement of the sceptic or the ignorant; they are the Alpha and Omega of profound and philosophic thought. Those who find the real Sages, and not the showmen of acrobatic feats, those who try to become at least a little lamp in the sanctuary of the One Truth of the ages, become in their humble sphere servitors of the race; they lift up for themselves and for others a corner of the heavy veil of matter which hides that which is from all eternity; they learn, in their turn, to give self-confidence to the disinherited of life. Moreover, they have realised that they can, they also, raise themselves to the path trodden by the Predecessors, the Elder Brothers of men.

On the faces of all these men and women of India taking part in this fête, on the serious faces of the children who open their big, velvety eyes wide in order to see the procession better, shines an expectation, a hope—and I think that in all the far-off crowds of the West there is also this expectation, this hope—the expectation and hope to see appearing other beings filled with love and knowledge, pure enough, courageous enough to be wise leaders of the peoples and to guide them towards a destiny of true liberty, a destiny free of fear, horrors, massacres, famines; a destiny where love will be joyous and sane in the certitude that these new men, profiting by old errors, will make it possible for the future generations to advance along the great route of humanity in a procession of joy and light....

While I dream, we arrive at a quiet place outside the town. In a cool, green glen shaded with palms and mangoe trees, the procession stops. The music is silent. From the crowd emerges a group of young girls and women who proceed to the centre of a circular space where stones carved with figures of serpents are standing. In the silence, the clinking of their anklets and bracelets sounds like the ringing of aerial bells. The adoration of the serpent begins. While Brahmans recite *mantrams*, powerful invocations to the *Nagas*, the women spill milk over the stone serpents. This ceremony is of great beauty. The gesture of the pouring out of the milk is one of incomparable grace. A sacred gesture with sacred thought. The spirals of incense ascending into the air are as many vows forming in all hearts. Near the stone serpents are two trees which have married: a fig tree and a margosa.

It is over. The *mantrams* have ceased. The music starts again and the crowd files past the serpents. The fête is still in the air, it is in the rays of the setting sun, it is in the flag-bedecked streets of Vijayanagar, it is in the stones of the temples where the gods are watching. It is, above all, in the souls of these people.

I climb the slope of a wooded hill in order to enjoy the view. I recognise, on my left, the terrace of the Throne, the bathing pool of the Queen; on my right, the Lotus Mahal with its graceful form, the elephants' stalls, the towers of the Zenana; and before me, in the distance, the street of the bazaar, the temple of Vishnu, the temples of Rama, Krishna....

But....I have dreamed! ....I must be the unconscious prey of a magician, a *dugpa*. Sorcerers are so powerful here! ....I pass my hand across my eyes. What do I see? ....Ruins....ruins, all around me is a heap of ruins. It is not possible. I am mad, or else it is the heat of the sun, the fatigue of the long day! ....But no, I am wide awake....Ruins, ruins! I can see the temples quite well with my field glasses standing there, still beautiful in their

majesty. I can even distinguish their sculptures. But all are in ruins ! Over there is the bazaar street but it contains nothing but carcasses of stone, stained red by the glow of the sunset. Everywhere is desolation.... There is no fête, no laughter, no music, nor songs. The elephants trumpet no more. There are no flags. The crowd, men, women wearing gay saris, children.... where are they ? There are no dwellings, no happy homes.... all are eviscerated. But they, the beings, the sons and daughters of men, the devotees, the gods ?.... The princes, chiefs, the king, queen, princesses ?.... The human river, where is it ?....

Over Vijayanagar, there planes nothing but silence and the cawing of crows. Vijayanagar is dead. Ancient Vijayanagar, the "City of Victory," is nothing but a graveyard where are buried the hopes of men, where are entombed the spiritual values of a whole past glory. Only the grass and the plants are alive. The fire of man has destroyed all.

The 23rd January, 1565, the great battle of Talikota began. On one side, the Hindu armies who defended the town; on the other, the Mussulman troops. To begin with, the warriors of India seemed to win. But suddenly the Mussulmans, who waited for the attack, uncovered six hundred pieces of heavy artillery which were massed on three lines and hurled forth shells and terror. At the same time, thousands of horse-soldiers dashed forward to encircle the valiant warriors defending the Hindu city. Arrows flew back and forth from one side to the other, sowing death everywhere. Masses of enemy elephants, barbed with iron lances, crushed the wounded Hindus and even the dead. In the city, the King seated on his gold throne, distributed treasures, jewels, to encourage his men. The women moaned and wept, the children hid themselves within the dwellings. Outside the town, the river was transformed into a torrent of blood. The forces of Vijayanagar defended the city superbly. For three days

the atrocious carnage raged. More than a hundred thousand *cadavres* covered the ground. The King of the "City of Victory" was taken prisoner. For three days, they struggled step by step, inch by inch, the Hindu warriors being gradually forced back into the streets of the town under the avalanche of the invaders. By the evening of the third day, the town was dead. The Empire of Vijayanagar had crumbled in massacre, in pillage, in the violation of women and girls, in the horror of violence, cupidity, and hate.

Since then, for four centuries, HAMPI, ancient Vijayanagar, has been dead, wrapped in a shroud of silence.

While visiting the ruins, my mind evoked, according to records, the long-ago happy days, the rich and prosperous city, the fêtes (that of the serpent is also celebrated in modern India), the crowd, the sweetness of living, the temples, all that constitutes a procession of happy years. Now, before us, rise the gaunt spectres of what was once beauty and happiness. The lake is dry, the crevassed hills are bare. Trees grow with difficulty here and there. Only the river, clear again, rolls its waters between chaotic rocks. Nevertheless, what imposing buildings can still be seen amid all the heart-breaking ruins! It seems that the beauty of Vijayanagar will not die. The roofs of some of the temples have fallen in but the pillars bear witness to the sculptural riches of a glorious past. Here is a portico, a gallery, a ceiling intact; there, an admirable sculpture representing the birth of Brahmâ, some bas-reliefs, some towers.... What rare treasures to contemplate while wandering melancholically through the temple of Vitthala, of Krishna, Rama; when visiting the enclosure of the Zenana, the Lotus Mahal, the elephant's stables! But the ancient dwellings, the homes which sheltered happy families, all have disappeared in the tempest.

All that for what? They had believed, these people of long ago, in the Nagas, the Wise Protectors. They had active and capable administrators. But human faults, sooner or later, must be paid for. Their leaders had, with-

out doubt, also raised their souls towards the Sages, but did they practise the ideal in their own lives? Did they bend towards the people to listen to their heart? Let us leave to destiny, to the law of cause and effect, Karma, the care of answering these questions which belong to all time.

Oh! the lesson of Hampi is engraved in its stones. It is history. Just as in Europe the millions of soldiers lying beneath the green grass of the fields are the witnesses to men's folly. Nations, empires, rise up along the routes of Time. They radiate their light for an instant, a century, fifty years! . . . Then, great tides of hate overwhelm in a few days, a few months, these ephemeral civilisations, without any force in the world being able to prevent their destruction. A Nega of last century, one of those great Beings who live unknown to the crowds, was right in saying:

*"No human power, not even the force and power of the highest patriotism, has ever been able to turn the destiny of iron from its fixed course, nor prevent nations falling into the darkness of decadence, like torches plunged into water."*

Whose fault is it? Man's. Where is the remedy? With men. The lighthouse of Truth eternally sweeps the rough, surging ocean of human life. It is for men to turn their eyes towards this beacon which points out the way to follow. It is the Fire of the Spirit which never destroys, which always builds within us the "City of Victory."



## CHAPTER XX

### HYDERABAD THE MUSSULMANA

**T**ORRID territory, great parched plains which are waiting for refreshing monsoon deluges to make them green again. From time to time, an isolated tree stands up. We roll along for miles and miles without seeing a village. The route seems endless.

We started this morning from Hampi *en route* for Hyderabad, which we shall not reach until tomorrow evening. Tonight we shall sleep at Kurnool.

After traversing Bellary, its hill burned bare by the blazing sun, we come to the country of mirages. We look out for some, but all in vain. Mirages are like pretty women, they like to make themselves desired.

Along this monotonous route, we doze with one eye. Hullo! A little hill surrounded with water. Water without green foliage! Strange! I shut both eyes. My thoughts stray towards haunting Hampi. Exclamations from my travelling companions. "The hill, the hill!" they cry. I look at the hill which is still there. But the water, where is it? Evaporated! So, I missed the mirage—at least a part of it. I decide not to close my eyes again. I open them wide and watch, I force myself to look at a straight road with bare plains on each side. I almost murmur: "Water, water! A mirage, a mirage!" It is curious how we love illusions.

A sheet of water right over there on the left! This time, I keep the mirage in sight so as not to let it escape me. It appeared suddenly, like all mirages. Yes, one would certainly say that there is water over there, a little lake. Oh! it is far away on the plain, but when we arrive on a level with it.... Where is it? It has disappeared as sud-

denly as it came.

Mirages are terrible. They are all the same: interferers and promisers. They interfere between you and the truth, they promise much and only leave disappointment. They are like the fruits of the Dead Sea, they fall into ashes as soon as they are touched.

I shut my eyes for good. I do not want to see any more mirages. One sees too many of them, we carry them within us, we create them eternally. Entire peoples are exploited by political or religious mirages. The whole world is a prey to mirages. Hampi! Hampi! Poor Hampi!

I shake myself and take a little book for the use of *lanoos*, disciples in certain temples of Tibet who seek knowledge. I read:

*"Alas, alas, that all men should possess Alaya, be one with the great Soul, and that possessing it, Alaya should so little avail them !*

*"Behold how like the moon, reflected in the tranquil waves, Alaya is reflected by the small and by the great, is mirrored in the tiniest atoms, yet fails to reach the heart of all. Alas, that so few men should profit by the gift, the priceless boon of learning truth, the right perception of existing things, the knowledge of the non-existent !*

*"....Learn to discern the real from the false, the ever-fleeting from the everlasting. Learn above all to separate Head-learning from Soul-wisdom, the "Eye" from the "Heart" doctrine.*

*"....Soar beyond illusions, search the eternal and the changeless Sat, the unique and eternal reality and truth, mistrusting fancy's false suggestions."*

....While I philosophise in my corner of the car, we arrive at Guntakal, where the railway for Madras branches off to the North and the South. We lunch in the buffet of the station, drinking ginger-ale, a drink that is truly thirst-quenching when one has crossed deserts.

Six o'clock in the evening. We arrive at Kurnool, a rather important town with large, pretty, shady squares. At the post office, we find a packet of letters coming from the Nilgiris.

In the dak-bungalow, after dinner, I write an article for the *Hindu* of Madras. Then, exhausted, we fall asleep in spite of a bed of boards, mosquitoes, and a traveller in the adjoining room who snores like an airplane engine.

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The next day, we make our departure by train. Impossible to proceed by road to the frontier of Hyderabad State. Reason? No road. We must either go by rail or make a considerable detour by road, which for lack of time we are unable to do. There is no choice, so we have the car put on the train.

....Mahbukna, the frontier of the Mussulman State. Three o'clock in the afternoon. Unloading of the car, customs. Change of scenery—red fez, faces with beautiful beards. A council of war in the office of the customs employee. A charge of three hundred rupees will be made for allowing the car to pass the customs. We refuse to pay it. The employee, rough and rude, refuses our refusal. We threaten to send a telegram to the First Minister of the Nizam of Hyderabad, whom we do not know. Another council of war, further discussions, lasting over an hour. Finally, the car is allowed to pass. We pay nothing at all. It is the East—its rind.

*En route.* With our tyres, we tread the soil of India's Mussulman State. It is getting late and we want to see Hyderabad at sunset. We are obsessed by this idea and are determined to see the last rays of the setting sun shining over the town, over the minarets. So, we ask our dear car to make a great effort to put on speed. She is, however, very tired after her thousands of miles, poor thing!

The country is fairly green, fields of maize and rice. The people seem to be more robust in the Mussulman country. Saris have disappeared, or nearly so. The

women wear a becoming little blouse of various colours, between it and the skirt, the waist is bare. Some cavaliers pass us on Arab horses. In the villages, we glimpse above the tangle of trees, the minarets of humble mosques.

We spin on, on, on; the sun is already sinking behind us. It is six o'clock. The first rays of the setting sun are tinting the fields and villages with rose, red, and green.

At some crossroads, we have a true vision of Islam: a Mussulman peasant turned toward Mecca reciting verses from the Koran.

Ah! What pretty Moresque bungalows built along the side of a hill! We are now in the suburbs of Hyderabad. It is almost seven o'clock. Quick, hurry, a few more turns of the wheels! The route coils round a hill. Again, white houses half-hidden under trees.

Hyderabad, at last! The vast city is enveloped in a cloud of gold, sprinkled with mauve and orange. What a magnificent scene! Its minarets soar into the magic of the sky and its white houses and terraces are tinted with the ever changing hues of the sunset. One minute they are rose, then they become mauve, afterwards the whole city is encircled by a red-orange halo.

Some minutes later, we are among the crowd on the borders of the city: noise, music, burnous, fez, an odour of musk, camels with their proud heads held high.... Thousands of lights twinkle out. Evening falls over a city of Islam.

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The next morning at our hotel, we are awakened by murmurs in which the word Allah frequently occurs. A Mussulman in the neighbouring room recites his morning prayers.

The view from our window extends over the white city, still more dazzlingly white in the brilliant morning sun. Mosques, minarets, rise above green masses of trees and the terraces of the houses make gleaming white spots against the green foliage. On the horizon, a ridge

of hills stands out, along which run the battlemented walls of Golconda. This legendary stronghold, containing fabulous treasures, was destroyed long ago by the Mogul Emperor Aurengzeb, a descendant of Tamerlan. On the right, some domes can be seen; they are the tombs of Golconda's ancient sultans.

It is strange to feel that one is in India and, at the same time, that one is not there. The memory of Hampi haunts me.

After a splendid breakfast—a change for us from the often frugal and hasty meals of the dak-bungalows (ô mirage of good *café-au-lait*, boiling hot ! . . .)—we start off for a stroll at random through the capital of the Nizam, the reigning prince in collaboration with the British delegate.

The streets and the wide white avenues swarm with light little carriages, buffalo carts, men wearing a fez or a turban, with the bearing of dervishes or great Arab rulers, children who are not at all shy but decided and noisy.

Women are rather scarce in the streets and everywhere there floats a mystery of *zenanas*. Moreover, many of the shops advertise: "Articles for *Zenanas*." Poor Mussulman women, of course, walk; they are entirely veiled in a cloak of fine white material, in which a lattice hangs before their eyes in order to allow their brilliance to shine through. If they belong to a rich man they drive about in old *landa*ux with the blinds drawn down. For medium purses, the *landau* transforms itself into a simple and uncomfortable *tonga*. Here comes a little carriage with a roof of plaited straw bent down to the hubs of the wheels. On the front sits the lord and master, an old Mussulman with a white beard, his forehead furrowed with worries. He drives the pony. Behind, as in front, a drawn blind hides from indiscreet eyes his precious feminine cargo. The master is taking his wives for a promenade. The carriage moves along slowly and we, who are walking on the pavement behind it, see the curtain suddenly fly up under the skilful push of some pretty ringed fingers, followed by delicate wrists encircled with bracelets, vanguard

of bare amber-coloured arms. A second, a flash of lightning, the curtain is lifted and, O sacrilege! four unveiled faces, eight brilliant black eyes, send us smiles that would turn pale the most beautiful houri of Mahomet's paradise. The husband, the lord who, as always, is unaware of anything, jerks on the reins in thinking of the vanity of the world. Mirage! Mirage!

The palace of the Nizam, surrounded by high walls, is situated in the upper part of the town. Beyond is Secunderabad, the English town with villas reminding one of the suburbs of London. We go back to the centre of the town.

On the pavements are groups of men with multicoloured turbans. They sit there with their legs and feet bare and make....lace. They consent, laughingly, to have their photographs taken. From behind the moucharabies which overhang the streets, we feel the magnetism of hidden eyes....

We are now in the very noisy principal street. The *Char Minar*, with minarets at its four corners and a monumental gate in Arab style, stands in this street. The minarets look over the great mosque which we are on our way to visit. This mosque is very beautiful, with arcades, domes, and minarets around which are flying clouds of white pigeons.

The whole town is full of discoveries and unusual scenes. Here is a fountain surrounded with camels; there a palace, wrapped in mystery, standing in the middle of beautiful gardens; then, a park with a sheet of transparent water covered with beautiful rose lotus; afterwards, lanes full of the odour of musk....

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But, how amazing are the evenings of Hyderabad! Evenings with a hot, overpowering wind, impregnated with perfumes of Arabia. Evenings when the minarets are white in the moon. Evenings when one hears the music of Hyderabad, songs of the desert, tambourines which stir

up dancing and also....mirages. How beautiful are the evenings of Hyderabad the Mussulman!

The bazaar has elegant little arches of light that glow over sabres with blue glints, Turkish slippers with pointed toes in pagoda form, fez of all sizes, essence of rose, sweets made of rose, amber necklaces, crescent-shaped ear-rings, horse saddles studded with gleaming copper, harness laden with little bells, coloured camel bags, rare, costly carpets... Mussulman bazaars are certainly remarkable.

From dim corners of the town float music and the sound of tambourines. Hyderabad sings and dances throughout its languorous nights.

.... Guided by the manager of our hotel, we go to one of the houses from where this music of the evening floats and where we shall be shown the wonderful charm of Islam.

We are shown into a room with white-washed walls and carpets and cushions on the floor. In one corner, Mussulman musicians are seated on mats, tuning their instruments. The scent of roses floats in the air. Through the lace-worked ogives of the room, we can see the white minarets of a mosque standing out against a blue night sky, an Eastern sky, cloudless, jewelled with stars. Crickets are holding their gay little concert in the walls. I am reminded of the beautiful evenings of Mussulman Africa.

We sit down on some cushions. We are the only guests. A woman comes simply into the room, holding by the hand an adorable little girl, her daughter, whose little nose is adorned with a gold ring. They sit down near the musicians. The music commences. At first, it is a humming, like that of the cicadas in the tall grass. Little by little, a sweet melody develops which with tambourines accompanies the woman's song. She has a rich, warm voice. This Mussulmana is beautiful. She is about twenty-eight years old, tall, with large almond-shaped eyes, robed in a black sari bordered with silver and wearing long amber ear-rings, bracelets on her wrists, and silver

bells around her bare ankles.

Her song evokes long treks by caravan across burning, sandy deserts, evenings and icy dawns under a tent. The rhythm quickens; it is the mounting of the warriors. Then the glissando of Arab guitars evokes a beautiful Emir on the terrace of his palace, reposing after battle beside his beloved Sultana. Finally, it is again the caravan, the immense desert of rose sands....mirages of oasis with cool springs, eternal mirages!

Voice and music have died away. The Mussulmana comes towards us with a smile and asks us in broken English if we are pleased with her performance. We hasten to express our pleasure. Then, she tells us about her life: she comes from Delhi, she is married and has two children, she travels about India and earns her living by her singing and dancing.

The music begins again. Now it is a slow dance: the snake charmer. With skilful fingers, the Mussulmana forms her handkerchief into a cobra rearing up on its tail, which she places on the floor. She then dances round it, chanting softly, charming it with the tinkling of the silver bells on her ankles. Her feet scan the music. She turns, her beautiful supple body bends to and fro, and lastly she falls on her knees. The serpent is fascinated.

More songs, more dances. Islam! Islam with its disturbing beauties, its poetry, its appeal to dream....

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On our last morning in Hyderabad, we pay a visit to Golconda. Half-an-hour's drive along a road bordered by green meadows brings us within sight of the donjons and ramparts of the ancient fortress of Golconda standing amid its romantic scenery of granite blocks. Ruins of a mosque neighbour with bastions, embattled towers, cannon balls—souvenirs of long-ago battles, scenes of long sieges, supplied no doubt by the famous treasures of ancient Golconda. Alas! Mosques and cannons! Prayer and war, here as everywhere else. The muezzin's chant from the pinnacle



of the minarets mingled with the wild clamour of the battle beneath.

Instead of these sad ruins, we prefer to wander in the resting place of Golconda's ancient kings which is situated not far from the fortress. Cemetery of Islam! Imposing tombs with great high cupolas supported by arcades of massive pillars. There, under each mausoleum, sleeps a sultan, a famous prince, in the divine sleep of death.

Along the alleys bordered by centenary trees, where roses and jasmine mingle their perfume, and only the song of red birds breaks the peaceful silence, we go from mausoleum to mausoleum. I venture inside one of these tombs. I read the name of a prince which I do not know. Was he a cruel warrior, or perhaps a pompous prince covered with jewels among his adorable wives? Who knows! Or, maybe he was a poet, a mystic, or both at once, as the celebrated Abu-Said; or again, a learned alchemist in the same category as a Geber.

On coming out of the mausoleum, we hear a clear voice ringing through the calm, warm morning air. A man's voice coming from a near by mosque hidden behind a curtain of trees. Sitting down on a bench, we listen to it. It is a religious chant floating on the breeze. The muezzin, doubtless. The tones mount like spirals of blue smoke ascending and mingling with the azure. A prayer to Allah! .... I think of the prodigious life of the Prophet of Islam.

Far away in Arabia, in Mecca, there lived a child who was orphaned and left with an inheritance of only three camels. At the age of twenty-four, he travelled, entered into commerce, married a rich woman much older than himself: Khadija. After the marriage, years of solitude passed, full of the inner struggles which only prophets experience. Nothing is known about his solitary years of meditation. One day, he heard within him the "Voice." It revealed to him his mission. He returned to Khadija, his well-beloved. She believed in him, she had faith in him and she encouraged him to obey the Voice. She became



art the absolute being," cried a mystic, Sufi Jami, "any other teaching is but fanaticism, for in thy universe, all beings are but one."

Brotherhood. Unity. Then, you Mussulmans who live side by side with your Hindu brothers, what could you not accomplish by taking each other's hands in a brotherly gesture? And you, Hindus, who read and meditate on the *Bhagavad-Gita*, do you not remember what Shri-Krishna said? "I am the Soul which is seated in the hearts of all living beings." Is this not an appeal to unity, to brotherhood? Could you not then, you Mussulmans and Hindus, respect each other in practising the verses that you psalmody in your mosques and temples? The goal is high, glorious. It is worth some sacrifices.

....Behind the trees, the muezzin still chants from the pinnacle of his minaret. Thus, while away in the distant Hyderabad the Mussulmana, glitters in the noon-day sun, I think of the word ISLAM.

*Islam:* To submit oneself to the Divine.

## TWO TOWNS, THE FAIR IN THE DESERT

CLEAR weather, A hot wind blowing. A veiled sun is the first time since we left the Blue Mountains. We are en route towards the North-West where the blessed moon is still reflected in the earth, concluding the latter part of September. Just the same, Surya, the red-hot Sun of the Gods, which has the right to rule today. We are tempted to say the Nether Earth, hoping that the King of the World may reap profit in all his splendour.

*"The great standard of Arma is hoisted,  
It floats in the vision of all and  
Virtues and virtues."*

*"He came to the lower, the gold city,  
The treasury and brilliant land also  
Came after his looks and his footsteps.  
The new great life to people who are  
And their work."*

We left Hyderabad in the early part of the afternoon. It is now six o'clock in the evening. We have already covered nearly two hundred miles *en route* for the famous caves of Ajanta and Ellora, where we shall arrive tomorrow morning, if the devils are propitious to us.

After crossing the great plains of the Marathman State, we are at this moment in search of a dah-bungalow in which to pass the night. In any case, we are well within the neighbourhood indicated by the Madras Automobile Club's guide to stopping places. Ah! here is a little building on the right. We hail a passer-by on the route. Happily, there are always a few! He makes gestures and speaks

volubly to our "boy" but we do not understand him very well. He must be speaking in Urdu. The diversity of dialects in India is a great difficulty. Here they speak Gujarati, Hindi, Bengali; there Tamil, Urdu, Telegu, Kannarese, Malayalam, and how many others. Here's to Hindi as a national language to unite all hearts and intelligences.

Finally, C. gets out of the car and goes to find out for himself whether the building in question is a dak-bungalow. Sadly, I realise that the beautiful evening hour is no longer glowing with its magic colours. The horizon is, certainly, a mass of red fire, but that announces wind. Where are the mauves, the greens, the rose of Hyderabad? Far behind us. And those of the South? Still further away, on the Coast of Spices.....

C. comes back making a despairing gesture. It is certainly the bungalow, but.... it is in ruins. There is nothing to do but to continue our journey. In this deserted country, villages are rare and travellers' cottages still more so.

Night falls. We speed along towards a locality indicated in our guide book. For two hours, on we go while the wind beats against the windows of our car. Here come a few houses. We enquire of two turbaned men, chatting together on a little stone bridge. Nothing. No bungalow.

On, on, on, we go through the night. We eat some bananas. Where shall we stop? At Naldrug, perhaps. A dak-bungalow is indicated there. The night is so dark that we can see nothing through the car windows which, moreover, are shaking in the wind. The poor chauffeur is exhausted. As for the "boy," it is all the same to him, he sleeps.

Midnight. The route ascends slightly and it seems as if we are mounting towards a plateau. Some scattered white houses stand out against the dark, cloud-banked sky. We get out of the car and knock at a door. A brave Hindu, still very sleepy, appears on the threshold.

He half understands what we ask him and makes an affirmative sign. It is certainly Naldrug and it is he himself who is in charge of the travellers' cottage. The devas are propitious.

The bungalow is a nice one. It seems to stand on high ground dominating a plain situated on a slightly lower level. But it is difficult to see anything in this inky night. What a wind!

At one o'clock in the morning, we are tucked into our beddings. Dinner will be for tomorrow. What does it matter! I listen to the great wind of the plains of Hindustan which is shaking our one-night shelter. I see mosques and....in the court of one of them, I perceive a Shiva dancing.... Now, it is the temple of Madura with a minaret looking over the tank of the Gold Lotus.... How strange!.... I am dreaming, doubtless....It would be too beautiful!

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Our morning at Naldrug rests us a little after the fatigue of last evening. We shall have to make another long stage this afternoon.

Just as we thought yesterday evening, the dak-bungalow stands on an eminence. This high ground dominates an immense plain with soil the colour of raw sienna, on which stand up a few scattered green trees. The sky is still cloud-covered, even this great wind does not succeed in chasing away the clouds.

We visit the village which is situated lower down. An old fortress in ruins, with dungeons, embattled walls, moats, reminds us that we are still on Mussulman territory. The village stands under the shade of beautiful trees; it has, of course, a bazaar.

In a small square, we come upon a group of women Bandjars: Bohemian nomads. What beautiful women they are, especially one who is a handsome dark type. She is young, tall, clothed in a low-cut bodice made of green, red, and yellow bands and adorned with tiny span-

gles of glass, resembling mica. How picturesque she is in her full skirt, a profusion of necklaces twined around her neck, a ring of gold adorning her nose, long ear-rings falling on to her shoulders, bracelets on both arms reaching above the elbows, rings on all her fingers, even on her thumbs, and her ankles encircled with gold anklets! A large square of stuff, pinned in her hair, falls over her back, the ends of which are lifted and attached to her waist.

This group makes a curious and attractive picture. We photograph them, receiving a wild look from the one whom we have just described. True Tziganes, it is said, are of Hindu origin. Certainly those who are not of mixed race remind one of certain Hindustan types and even their language is similar. From where do they come? Where do they go, these Bohemians in their wandering journeys? They say, perhaps, the *bonne aventure*, or the bad! We must leave them to their mystery.

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We remount towards the bungalow. Half-way up the hill, we are attracted by a door in Moresque style opening into an enclosure. We push it. What a ravishing place, full of calm and touching poetry!

We are transported suddenly into a scene of the time of Akbar. Standing in the shadow of some trees, a group of beautiful Indo-Mussulman architecture is unfolded before us; kiosks, arches with delicately lace-worked ogives, crowned by little cupolas and latticed balustrades. In one corner of the enclosure is a humble mosque with minarets turned towards Mecca. In another a pavilion with arcades through which can be seen, stretching away as far as the eye can reach, the plain with its colour of raw sienna. In the centre of the pavilion: two tombs, side by side.

Twin tombs, slabs of broken stone, wild flowers growing in their mossy cracks. Tombs of a sultan and sultana.

She and He ! One stone is finely sculptured and the half-effaced Arabic inscriptions are still visible. Beneath the arcades breathes the wind of eternity. She and He ! always together throughout the revolutions of time. She was doubtless his inspiratrix, as are so many Mussulman women, as was Khadija to Mahomet. A cool breath of air, softer than silk, a seed-idea which sparkles, and femininity fructifies the Well-Beloved. He works, creates and achieves. She and He, lying here side by side. They lived, perhaps, the wonderful life of living souls, aflame, with the light which enlightens, living souls who never die, who soar upwards without faltering on the way of realisation, the way of their love, living souls aureoled with nobility. She and He ! . . .

What a strong, sweet impression radiates from these two Mussulman tombs, side by side facing the plains of Hindustan swept by the eternal wind !

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Noon. We start for the long stage. Goodbye Naldrug ! Farewell twin tombs !

For hours, we advance in the teeth of the wind along a road bordered with aloes. A breakdown stops us for an hour and then off we start again. The sky is lowering, the sun absent, the air heavy. The plain becomes a desert, scattered with the dark spots of a few clusters of trees. No habitation.

An exclamation from our companions arouses us out of our drowsy reverie. On our right, a whole herd of wild deer are leaping across the desert. They bound along, the noble animals, in a wild gallop towards the North West, fleeing from hunters or leopards. It is certainly not we who will stop them in their flight. We spin along at full speed in order to follow them. But they outstrip us crossing the route far in advance and then fading into the colour of the desert.

Two hours before sunset, in the far distance before us we glimpse a mass of white specks dotted over the desert.



What is going on? As we advance, we can see the specks moving. A mirage? No. An enormous crowd assembled in the desert. Empty bullock carts are standing along the route: a prodigious activity.

We stop and get out of the car. Our boy makes enquiries. It is a bazaar of a day, a fair which takes place every month, or perhaps every year. We mix with the crowd. There are Mussulmans, in majority, some Bohemians, and also many Hindus. What colour! in spite of the grey sky. Mussulman women, barefooted, astride the zebus, from whose painted horns red pompons are swinging, are preparing to depart. Whole families are grouped around their ancestral chariot with its enormous wheels. One old man, at the head of his beast, is leading the whole of his huge cart-load. He is not pleased about having his photograph taken, so he puts his fingers in his nose. These poor families come from far distances in order to sell a little millet, rice, plaited baskets....Saris and turbans mingle in a sea of colours.

Objects for sale are displayed on pieces of cloth or even on the sand. There are quantities of the most various things: eggs, bamboo flutes, pins, pious images, seeds, mirrors, necklaces, fruit, little copper cymbals, vegetables....

At a nearby pond, almost dried up, the zebus go to drink while the men, women, and children bathe their feet. Music bursts out. It is the dancers of the fair who are dancing and shaking light cymbals in the form of *castagnettes*, while musicians play on flutes and on long primitive clarionets. These dancers are good. A well-timed rhythm, almost martial, to which they bend their knees, their busts, in perfect equilibrium. Then leaps, worthy of Russian dancers, lift them into the air, followed once more by the staccato march. This lasts for a long time and the crowd laughs with delight.

Then, the carts begin to pack up, families leave, crammed in between the two high wheels which creak and grind as they turn slowly on the way. They are

going back to their poor, far-off villages, happy nevertheless because of this rare and unexpected diversion. A moment of pleasure !

It is growing late. The day is sinking. We regain our car, followed by some men and youths who, with many smiles, bid us goodbye.

.....When we arrive at Chancela, a little village lost in Hyderabad State, it is very late. Although there is a strong wind blowing, it is beginning to rain. Rain ! What a disagreeable sensation in this country of the sun ! It rains great drops, real drops, which transform into a deluge.

We take refuge in the dak bungalow, which stands in the middle of a field. What a dark, wet night ! The rain tambourines on the roofs. The wind blows through the great trees. On the plain also, it is raining in torrents and blowing a gale. The poor folks of the desert fair will be soaked *en route*.

## CHAPTER XXII

### THE TRIPLE REFUGE

**A**URANGABAD at last. We ought to have arrived early this morning but it is now five o'clock in the afternoon! A terrible journey through a tempest, torrents of rain falling without a break. We are in the heart of the monsoon. Then our supply of petrol ran short. We found a gallon or so in a village hospital and so have arrived for good or ill, more ill than good, at this town on the borders of Hyderabad State in the proximity of Ajanta and Ellora.

Owing to a special permit, we shall stay at the sumptuous dak-bungalow reserved for "officials," situated on a healthy plateau near British headquarters, but swept at this moment by monsoon tempests particularly abundant and terrible. The Indian servants certainly take us for generals in mufti. They give us military salutes, so military that we believe we shall be metamorphosed suddenly into great conquerors worthy of Tamerlan or Gengis Khan.

The view from the plateau is limited by great isolated mountains and huge bare, frowning rocks, drowned in the rain.

We start out to find a post office, carefully descending the road leading to the town which nestles in the valley. Another serious break-down stops us. Impossible to advance. I take a tonga and remount on to the plateau in order to seek help while C. and A. remain with the car. Thanks to the extreme kindness of an English officer, Major L. a military car is sent to fetch our car which can be repaired at the headquarters camp. But it will take two days. I cannot tell you how more than

kind Major L. and his charming wife, a French woman, have been to us. And their reception of an evening was simply delightful.

\* \* \*

The following morning, we obtain information about the departure of the omnibuses going to Ajanta. Very bad news. The route is impracticable, the waters of a river having swollen to a torrent and endangering the surrounding country. Since yesterday, buses and cars have been stopped.

We are struck with consternation. So we shall not be able to visit Ajanta, the Buddhist sanctuary containing the celebrated frescoes which are unique in the world ! Then, we will go to Ellora which is also a pure marvel and which we also want to visit. Major L. very generously and kindly puts his chauffeur and car at our service, besides giving us an authorisation to visit on our way the fortress of Daulatabad.

We set out under a sky slightly more serene, the gale having scattered the clouds. We shall have a long afternoon in which to roam through the marvellous caves of Ellora.

We speed along towards the great sombre mountains barring the horizon and contrasting sharply with the greenness of the plain which for three months has been absorbing diluvian rains. All is fresh and the trees are wearing springtime colours. Before the pass mounting through the ghats stands a tall isolated rock: it is the fortress of Daulatabad. For neighbour, it has a beautiful solitary minaret. As at Golconda, prayer and war, side by side. From the time of the Crusades, it has been the same. Humanity hardly changes. The whole of this great rock, from the base to the summit, is a mass of ancient casemates, underground tunnels, ramparts, moats containing deep treacherous waters, galleries hollowed right out of the rock. Almost a Gibraltar. From this fortress, the view is wonderful.

Rearing up before us are the great mountains that we are about to cross on our way to Ellora whose ancient caves we are so desirous to see.

The route zigzags upwards, ending on a plateau encircled by still higher mountains. We cross a village where we glimpse the mausoleum of Aurengzeb, the Mogul emperor who succeeded Akbar but who was not able to preserve harmony between the Mussulmans and Hindus.

Then, we descend a gently sloping road. Suddenly, before us appear limitless plains and on the mountain side the caves of Ellora, enormous cells hollowed right in the walls of the rock.

The history of these caves has raised many discussions. If the origin of the excavations is lost in the night of time, Indian paleographs protest when Western archaeologists attribute them to the Buddhists. The theory which holds that all the excavated temples of India are of Buddhist origin does not seem, in fact, to be exact. In the caves at first sight, there appears to be a mixture of Hinduism and Buddhism. However, the history of these two religions shows well that if the second, Buddhism, issued from the first, Hinduism, their cults have never been interlaced. The Buddhists were always opposed by the Brahmans, and even the few Buddhist communities which continued to exist in India and deserted the pure Buddhist teachings, never rallied to Brahmanism, but amalgamated with the Jains and were absorbed by them. Otherwise, it would be necessary to admit that the Buddhists became at a given moment adorers of the gods of the Brahmanic pantheon, but such a theory would be impossible to accept in view of the history, even, of Buddhism. What is conceivable is that Buddhist monks made use of the caves which had been constructed, sculptured, and afterwards abandoned by the faithful of Hinduism and installed in them their *viharas*, their monasteries. Two cults succeeded each other, then, in these tunnelled temples: that of Brahmanism and that of Buddhism. One could say of

Ellora what Monsieur Grousset so justly said *à propos* of Ajanta; it is "the very synthesis of the Indian soul."

It is true. If at Ellora the Brahmanic element predominates more than at Ajanta, nevertheless it has the souvenir of Gautama the Buddha, the Beggar Prince—one of the greatest among men.

It is not without deep feeling that we cross the threshold of these caves firstly from the point of view of their Brahmanic aspect. Here we are under the open sky before the temple of *Kailasa*, constructed and sculptured out of the rock. Kailasa, the dwelling of the gods, in which is seen everywhere the god Shiva, the Destroyer, the Builder. He is there on all the pillars and in all the corners, entrancing in his many and various poses.

However, here at Ellora, Shiva becomes more gentle. In one admirable sculpture, he is beside Parvati, his consort, his Shakti. Ravana the demon is trying to make the mountain on which they are standing crumble and collapse. Parvati, trembling with terror, buries herself against her god Shiva, her friend, her refuge. The whole of this sculpture is supported by an extraordinary *éléphantomachie*. Then further on is the scene of the Kiss, the infinite embrace of two beings, one of the most striking achievements in stone that one could contemplate. In this temple, we do not see the force and cosmic power of life portrayed so marvellously in the *Nataraja* at Chidambaram. Shiva at Ellora has become more human. He has become man. He protects, produces, builds. He is more tender, he shows his love. He lets us have a presentiment of what is coming in the future, a manifestation of Vishnu, an Avatar: the Beggar Prince, the Buddha.

\* \* \*

The divine figure of the Beggar Prince stands out more clearly in the measure that we penetrate more deeply the cave monastery, where long ago the monks and faithful of the Buddha assembled. There are no more gods. All is calm, interior. In the great halls buried under the

rock, in the lofty naves formed like overturned boats, a unique figure in stone is sheltered: that of the Buddha or of his predecessors, the Bodhisatvas. What resonance there is here! The least sound gives birth to vibrations which echo and re-echo under the great vaults. It becomes like the chime of a bell: the divine chime which can be heard in the human heart.

*"He who would hear the voice of Nāda, the 'Soundless Sound,' and comprehend it, has to learn the nature of Dharana (concentration, meditation). . . .*

*"Look inward: thou art Buddha."*

Thus say the Buddhist Writings.

Certainly, an atmosphere of meditation fills these caves, these peaceful cells, which look out eternally over immense plains and which narrate to us the life of the man who became a Buddha.\*

According to Ceylon chronicles, Gautama was born at Kapilavastu in the noble land of the Sakyas, lying at the foot of the immaculate heights of the Himalayas, in the year 621 before our era. His father was King Sudhodana and his mother, Queen Maya.

He was a very thoughtful youth. He often abandoned a game, a race nearly won, in the flowering parks in order to give himself up to his immense dream. His masters, the most erudite in the kingdom, were astonished at the learning of the boy prince—like Jesus on the steps of the temple confounding with his questions the wondering doctors of Israël.

At the age of eighteen, when the stars were favourable, his marriage to the sweet Princess Yasodhara was celebrated. The two fiances seated on the *gadi*, the nuptial cushion, had wedding garlands twined round their necks. When the cake was broken, rice and *attar*, a rare

\*We refer the reader to the beautiful book, the "Light of Asia" by Edwin Arnold.

and subtle perfume, were poured out and both the fiances three times made seven steps around the fire. Their clothes were linked together, *mantrams* were chanted, alms were distributed amongst the poor, and.... a radiant dream of love commenced.

But a sacred destiny must be accomplished. In the happy palace, when the Prince rested his sleeping head, with his beautiful calm traits, on the amber-coloured breast of Yasodhara, with agony she heard him murmuring words that she could not understand. He seemed to be addressing a universe of men. "I am coming, I am coming," he said. On the terrace of the palace, the breeze swaying the great palms dried the Princess's tears.

One day, Gautama wished to see the town. By order of the King, it was adorned with the most beautiful flowers and all saddening sights were removed so that the Prince in passing might not see any spectacle to cause him sorrow. But while the Prince was passing through the streets, an old man, broken down with old age and illness, emerged from the ranks of the crowd and threw himself at the feet of the Prince asking for his help. Thus was presented to him what he never thought to see: the sorrow of the world.

At last, the hour for his departure came. During a sweet Indian night, Gautama bade farewell to Yasodhara while she was sleeping, her anxious heart oppressing her lovely breast.

*"I will depart," he spake; "the hour is come!  
Thy tender lips, dear Sleeper, summon me  
To that which saves the earth but sunders us;  
And in the silence of yon sky I read  
My fated message flashing. Unto this  
Came I, and unto this all nights and days  
Have led me; for I will not have that crown  
Which may be mine: I lay aside those realms  
Which wait the gleaming of my naked sword:  
My chariot shall not roll with bloody wheels*



From victory to victory, till earth  
 Wears the red record of my name. I choose  
 To tread its paths with patient, stainless feet,  
 Making its dust my bed, its loneliest wastes  
 My dwelling, and its meanest things my mates;  
 Clad in no prouder garb than outcasts wear,  
 Fed with no meats save what the charitable  
 Give of their will, sheltered by no more pomp  
 Than the dim cave lends or the jungle-bush.  
 This will I do because the woful cry  
 Of life and all flesh living cometh up  
 Into my ears, and all my soul is full  
 Of pity for the sickness of this world;  
 Which I will heal, if healing may be found  
 By uttermost renouncing and strong strife....  
 Oh, summoning stars! I come! oh, mournful earth!  
 For thee and thine I lay aside my joys,  
 My throne, my joys, my golden days, my nights,  
 My happy palace—and thine arms, sweet Queen!  
 Harder to put aside than all the rest!  
 Yet thou, too, I shall save, saving this earth;  
 And that which stirs within thy tender womb,  
 My child, the hidden blossom of our loves,  
 Whom if I wait to bless my mind will fail.  
 Wife! child! father! and people! ye must share  
 A little while the anguish of this hour  
 That light may break and all flesh learn the Law.  
 Now am I freed, and now I will depart,  
 Never to come again, till what I seek  
 Be found—if fervent search and strife avail.”\*

Three times, he went away. Three times, he returned. Then, he went out into the night.

Years of search began. For seven years he sought for a remedy which could deliver the world from sorrow. Prince Gautama had become the Beggar Prince. Clothed

\* *The Light of Asia*, Book the Fourth, by Edwin Arnold.

in the yellow robe of a mendicant monk, he went from village to village along the routes of India, his begging bowl in his hand. Over his emaciated body, summers of fire passed and torrential rains of monsoon seasons. And when he passed by, calm and recollected, with the light of radiant dawn in his eyes, all hearts were flooded by a fountain of joy and happiness.

A village in the valley of the Ganges. It is Gaya. Far off, soar the snowy peaks of the Himalayas. Here it is that the Lord obtained his supreme illumination, that Gautama became the Buddha. Seated under a fig tree, assailed by the most diverse temptations, calm, immutable, his interior gaze fixed upon the goal that he sought, his consciousness mingled with the universal Consciousness. He *saw*, he *understood*. Before him unfolded the long pilgrimage of Man through the vicissitudes of birth, death, and rebirth. He saw the goal for man to attain: to become Light, Knowledge, Peace, Love, the four jewels of man become a Man—a Buddha. He communed with the sources of life. He received Nature's kiss, the eternal message that she reserves for every being who asks for it, "Ask and you shall receive." The message of all the Buddhas, all the Christs. He had become the Light, the Knowledge, the Peace, the Love.

His mission commenced. He came back to the palace of Yasodhara and to that of his father. To them all, to his Well-Beloved, to his son whom he blessed, as to all, he showed the way leading to sovereign Peace. Thence, for forty-five years, Gautama the Buddha in his yellow robe paced the great routes of India, delivering his message to the thousands and thousands of beings who followed him, the message contained in his first sermon of Benares.

Oh! these lessons. Who does not feel when reading them or listening to them, even the indifferent ones, a breath of pure wisdom, like a wind coming from very far, from infinite spaces where Time exists no more?..

"The books say well, my brothers," thus commended

the Lord Buddha at Benares, in the park of the gazelles.  
And he continued:

*"Each man's life*

*The outcome of his former living is;  
The bygone wrongs bring forth sorrow's and woes,  
The bygone right breeds bliss.*

*"That which ye sow ye reap. See yonder field!*

*The sesamum was sesamum, the corn  
Was corn. The silence and the darkness knew!  
So is a man's fate born.*

*"He cometh, reaper of the things he sowed,*

*Sesamum, corn, so much cast in past birth;  
And so much weed and poison-stuff, which mar  
Him and the aching earth.*

*"If he shall labour rightly, rooting these,*

*And planting wholesome seedlings where they grew,  
Fruitful and fair and clean the ground shall be,  
And rich the harvest due.*

*"If he who liveth, learning whence woe springs,*

*Endureth patiently, striving to pay  
His utmost debt for ancient evils done  
In Love and Truth always;*

*"If making none to lack, he thoroughly purge*

*The lie and lust of self forth from his blood;  
Suffering all meekly, rendering for offence  
Nothing but grace and good;*

*"If he shall day by day dwell merciful,*

*Holy and just and kind and true; and rend  
Desire from where it clings with bleeding roots,  
Till love of life have end:*

*"He—dying—leaveth as the sum of him*

*A life-count closed, whose ills are dead and quit,  
Whose good is quick and mighty, far and near,  
So that fruits follow it.*

"No need hath such to live as ye name life;  
 That which began in him when he began  
 Is finished: he hath wrought the purpose through  
 Of what did make him Man.

"Never shall yearnings torture him, nor sins  
 Stain him, nor ache of earthly joys and woes  
 Invade his safe eternal peace; nor deaths  
 And lives recur. He goes

"Unto Nirvana. He is one with Life,  
 Yet lives not. He is blest, ceasing to be.  
 Om, mani padme, om! the Dewdrop slips  
 Into the shining sea!

"This is the doctrine of the Karma....."\*

Then, the Lord taught the four holy Truths on suffering.

*First: that Universal suffering is.*

*Second: the Cause of suffering. It comes from desire, the deceiving mirages of our desire for earthly possessions. From that comes struggles, concupiscence, wars.*

*Third: Cessation of suffering, by the purification of our desires.*

*Fourth: the Way, the Noble Eightfold Path: pure faith, pure speech, pure acts, means of pure existence, pure application, pure thought, pure memory, pure meditation.*

Such is the path which leads to liberation.

And when the Blessed one, lying like a lion on a bed of leaves, prepared to quit this world, he addressed his last words to his faithful disciple, Ananda, and to the others assembled around him in tears:

\* *Ibid.* Book the Eighth.

*"It may be, O Ananda, that you think thus: the World has lost its master, we have no longer a master. One ought not to think thus, O Ananda. The doctrine, Ananda, is the rule that I have taught and preached, there is your refuge when I am gone. Work with diligence for your deliverance."*

The world had lost a Man. But his light remains for ever. By it, the Lord is always present in the spiritual atmosphere of humanity.

Today, two hundred millions beings in Asia—we do not say India, except Ceylon and Nepal—as millions of souls long ago, meditate, repeat, and sing the *Pancha-Sila*, of which the following are the "Three Jewels" or "Three Refuges":

*"Buddham saranam gachami,  
Dhamam saranam gachami,  
Sangham saranam gachami."*

*"I take refuge in the Buddha,  
I take refuge in the Doctrine,  
I take refuge in the Community."*

## CHAPTER XXIII

### HINDU VILLAGES, THE WOMEN OF INDIA

**T**HIS evening, sitting in a room of the dak-bungalow writing these notes, I listen to the raging wind and rain. Tomorrow morning will be our departure for Nasik, the last stage of our journey to Bombay. Afterwards, there will be our final departure, the one for Europe.

The great journey is coming to an end. We shall see no more the temples of Shiva, Vishnu.... We shall see no more the blue pigeons wheeling around the *gopurams*. We shall hear no more the creaking and grinding of bullock cart wheels, nor the click-click of the tonga-driver's tongue....

This evening, before my eyes come scenes of Kailasa, the Kiss, and above all my mind is filled with the marvellous life of the Buddha. I see him still, trudging on foot through the villages of India, clothed in his yellow robe, his begging bowl in his hand, leaving wherever he passed a furrow of love and wisdom. The villages of India! ....He loved them. In a few days, I shall see them no more. Before time can efface the impressions gathered during the course of our long pilgrimage, I want to imprint several souvenirs in my mind so that later on I may be able to turn with precision the leaves of the album called memory. Album of yesterday, album of past joys. Bygone times, a fireside corner, dear souvenirs!....

\* \* \*

For the ordinary tourist, a route is always a route. There are villages that one crosses, people whom one meets, and....dust. In India, of course, there are villages, people, and dust. But *there is something more*. The curious

will see nothing or very little. They will say, as the traveler did who was asked his impression on India: "Oh! very pretty, but what dust!"

The Hindu people, do not forget, is essentially a pastoral people. In my opinion, one cannot know India unless one visits her villages. In every country, it is the peasant who forms the armature of the nation and India has not escaped this law. The regeneration of a people must commence in the village. So, let us try to sing the heart-stirring routes of India.

Along the Indian routes, burned by a sun of fire, and during the summer months, refreshed by monsoon rains, all the hours of the day are different and possess an inexpressible charm and power.

At first, there are the exquisite morning hours, fresh and dew-pearled in the green palm groves and in the tangled jungle, filled with its strange noises.

Perhaps it is a village on the route to Mysore, Tanjore, Kumbakonam, no matter where. Under the fronds of palms, through which the sun is filtering, the village awakens at an early hour. Parrots, the bulbul with its marvelous song, colibris with bright or delicate tints, sing in the mango trees their morning hymn to Nature, while crows, swallows, and blue pigeons wheel around the gopuram of the little temple purpled by the rising sun. In the hedges, hop the "seven sisters," strange brown birds which go in groups of seven. It is a joyous concert of whistling, trills, cawing, screeching, and cooing. In the tender green rice fields, herons march about gravely. Monkeys frolic in the branches of the banyan trees or hold mysterious and endless councils on an old half-crumbled wall. In the temple court, peacocks strut about spreading out their moire tails adorned with glistening blue and gold discs. From holes in the trees, heads of lizards suddenly appear and with their supple little bodies they quickly glide away through the rugged bark. From bushes of wild jasmine comes the humming of bees at work,

while large rose and red butterflies hover delicately over the flowers of hibiscus and lantana. What pastoral charm in these villages, nestling under great palms! Humble and patriarchal life of past ages, the same today as it was in the time of Krishna. Exquisite freshness of the early ages, not yet polluted by the lies, egoism, greed, and brutality of modern man. Simple life, certainly too poor and perhaps too isolated for modern times. Poverty is so great in India!

Let us go into one of the poor dwellings, built of beaten earth and covered with a roof of dried palm leaves. As soon as dawn breaks, awakening the village sleeping in its deep peace, the man and woman begin their toilet, bathing themselves by pouring water drawn from the village wells over their bodies. In their willow cradles, the babies of India still sleep, naked or nearly so, tranquil, sometimes grave, in their adorable attitudes, watched over by pious images of Shiva, Lakshmi, Saraswati, suspended to the white-washed walls. In one corner, the mats which serve for beds are already folded. Perhaps there is a table, a chair, a glass, a chest, some stuff bought at the bazaar. . . . A vaulted opening leads into the place serving as kitchen, where goat's milk is heating on a fire of twigs or wood. In the air floats an odour of spices and incense. These huts are very poor.

Outside, in the lovely light of sunrise, latticed through large palms, in a hollow corner serving for a humble veranda, the woman clothed in her sari replaces her husband who has been accomplishing his morning religious duties, and there she also lifts up her thoughts towards the object of her devotion: Vishnu or Shiva or Ganesha. Then, with joined hands passing from heart to forehead, in a gesture of offering, she salutes the divinity of her heart. Religious routine in which, unfortunately, enters superstition upheld severely by the Brahmans. During the course of the morning or the afternoon, they will go to the temple to place a garland of jasmine at the feet of the god or goddess.



While the woman remains at home to look after the children or goes to the nearby ricefield to transplant young rice plants, her sari drawn up around her hips, her feet in water, the head of the family goes to the fields. Clothed in a *dhoti*, his inevitable *lota* (copper pot) in his hand, he goes to plough the fields or lead his cows, buffaloes, or goats to a place of pasture. Very often when the child is an adolescent, he is charged with this mission of his father. Then, seated under a banyan tree, beautiful as an antique god, he watches his herd. In this case, the man tills the ground with primitive labouring instruments or, harnessing his buffaloes to a long cart, goes to a neighbouring village to load it with hay or sugarcane stalks.

The bazaar becomes animated, the sellers open their shops, and the life of the village begins. One hears the blacksmith hammering on his forge. Before their doors, spinners are sitting at their spinning wheels; basket makers with reeds skilfully plait baskets of various forms; the shoemaker manufactures different sorts of sandals. The big-bellied money-lender is always there, awaiting his too numerous clients.

On the road, the footpaths, or on the threshold of their houses, the people chat to each other about the recent news, of what has happened here or there, in a village nearby or even very far off. It is a known fact that in India news travels hundreds of miles with a prodigious and disconcerting rapidity that is almost miraculous, if miracles existed.

The noon hour arrives. Oh! these burning noons when people and beasts all repose, when even the crows seem to doze. Only the grass-hopper's voice shrills from the tall grass.... There is in this noonday hour something unchangeable, something which was, is, and ever will be, in spite of men: an aspiration to silence, to rest.

Then, activity begins again in the village, as well as on the roads. The routes of India, as we have seen, are never solitary. These women with the deportment of a goddess, where do they go carrying on their head a copper vessel and their baby astride one hip? Some begging

friars pass, as well as whole families squeezed into bullock-carts. Off they go, the eternal travellers, quietly, without disturbance, happy to go away somewhere, to their parents, friends, for a death, a marriage, a holy pilgrimage. . . .

Then, in the villages, there are the children of India. At the door of the temple there are two naked little boys of about five or six years old seated on the ground like two Buddhas near their pretty, young mother, bamboo flutes, bananas, and coconuts spread out before them. They have beautiful, calm features and dreams in their great eyes. Here is another of twelve years old, perhaps, who sells copper trays at the bazaar. He is seated cross-legged, a turban swathed round his head, alert in his gestures and with a smile that is an enchantment. But how well he knows the value of an anna. Then, there is a baby, three years old probably, sitting naked before the door of a sanctuary. He has fat, round cheeks and a straight little bust. He is so grave, perhaps he is hungry. With his finger, he traces circles in the sand; his meditative eyes observe these circles with supreme attention, for him they certainly represent astonishing things—all his life ! . . .

Far away in the South, at Rameshwaram, there was a little girl of ten, alert, fine, joyous, wearing a wide gathered skirt and sparks of diamond in her little nostrils. She was named Saraswati. She developed a friendship for us, above all for C. and she often danced and sang for us. Her gestures, her poses, where had we seen them? Ah! yes, it was at Madura on a sculptured pillar or at Tanjore, Chidambaram, in some venerated sanctuary: a gesture of an Apsara, a pose like Lakshmi's beside her god. Like ourselves, her family had come on pilgrimage to the temple of Rama. Saraswati, you are beautiful, my child, and you do not know it. Guard this treasure of your grace. Happy will be the husband who will be yours later on. Let us hope that he will be worthy of you.

On fête days, and they are numerous, the village as-

sumes another aspect. Fêtes march in pair with the seasons, they are determined by the flowering of the jasmine or by the wind blowing from the South, by a day of full moon, or by the birthday of a great Sage, a religious ceremony in honour of a god. Then, the village dons its most beautiful attire.

If it is the day of Pongal, the Aryan Christmas, celebrated in January when the sun passes into the mysterious and profound sign of *Makara* (Capricornus)—sign linked to the forces of Nature—the fête assumes a particular solemnity. It lasts several days. From the eve, all houses are full of guests, relatives, friends come from far in order to celebrate the ceremony together. Each one thinks of something with which to decorate the house. Designs of flowers and garlands are traced on the threshold with white and red powder by means of white metal moulds. To the great joy of the children, the walls, floors, are cleaned; the doorposts are adorned with propitious colours; images of Krishna, Ganesh, are placed in view. In the stables, after a more rigorous cleaning than usual, the horns of the cows and buffaloes are painted in different colours, while garlands of flowers are hung around their necks and little bells attached to their fetlocks. All the cattle are given a supplementary ration of forage.

Just before dawn breaks on the first fairy day, all heaps of ordure are burned. Then, after bathing, everyone puts on their best and prettiest clothing. The women begin then to cook the newly picked rice. The dish of rice at Pongal is a severe trial. The least details must be observed with great care: the rapidity with which the fire is kindled, the time which the milk takes to boil, the direction that it takes, each fact has an important signification in the life of the village. Because the gods and their different forces are mixed up in these traditions. When the dish is ready, it is offered to Surya, the sun, the giver of life. Afterwards, it is divided among the members of the family, the friends, and also . . . the old companion-servitors with four feet.





**Women of South India**

Then, late at night, the village becomes hushed, silent, all sleeps. It was a moment of happiness, of gaiety. It does not often come.

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At the time of marriages—when the astrologer has decided the day according to the position of the stars—the calm of the village is broken by music and the beating of tom-toms.

It is a question of constructing a home on solid foundations. The true home is the armature of a nation, of every true civilisation.

In the West, it is the custom for the man to choose the woman he wishes to marry. In most cases, the woman also knows how to put herself forward. In India, in many instances, it is the parents who arrange according to their wishes the marriage of their children. This custom, although it sometimes proves successful in application, has become much corrupted. It comes from ancient India where we find it in all its original purity.

At that far-off epoch, there were three kinds of marriages: first, the marriage when the two spouses remained in their parents' home; the second, when, with their parents' consent, the young couple left their family in order to found a new home elsewhere; the third, the marriage when the two spouses made a resolution to remain chaste throughout their life in order to realise a deeper life, the spiritual life. Their mission was then to serve humanity.

Moreover, each of these marriages was decided by the guru, the true sage—not a charlatan—he who knew by his learning the aptitudes of both of the fiancées. These unions were, it seems, truly blessed and wise, because they were made with knowledge of the occult laws of life. To-day, times have changed so much. True learning is a very rare bird which does not often build its nest in homes.

The Hindu woman, as every other woman in the world, is the guardian of the home. If she does not accomplish her duty of wife and mother, she ruins the home and the

state. The *Bhagavad-Gita* announces this danger:

*"The ruin of a family causes the ruin of the eternal religion of the family; the religion destroyed, the entire family is pervaded with irreligion. By irreligion, women become corrupt, from the corruption of women, confusion is born."*

This is why in all homes, whether in the village or the town, one must honour the woman, the wife who is also the mother. She must be the centre of the family, its life, its moral and physical support. Without her, the home becomes a parched desert.

Moreover, the ideal for a woman is found in ancient Scriptures:

*"A woman is the half of man, his veritable friend."*

*"A loving woman is an eternal springtime of virtue, happiness, and fortune."*

*"A faithful wife is his best auxiliary in the search of celestial beatitudes."*

*"A wife with gentle language is a companion in solitude, a father in counsel, a mother in all times of distress, a repose on the journey across the wild regions of life."* —

Such is the teaching of the *Mahabharata*.

And the following are other qualities that she ought to possess:

*"She must be beautiful and noble, considering her husband as her god, and serving him the same in misfortune as in prosperity, health, or illness."*

*"She ought to rise early in the morning, honour the gods, keep her house clean, supply the sacred fire of the home."*

*"Devotion to her lord is the honour of wife, her eternal heaven."*

The "Laws of Manu" add:

*"A wife ought always to be in a good humour, to conduct with skill the affairs of her household, take great care of her household utensils, and not be too extravagant in spending."*

Oh ! women of India and everywhere else, is this not a beautiful ideal ?

But, some may ask, what about the man, has he been forgotten ? Has he no duty except that of allowing himself to be adored ? No, indeed, he has not been forgotten. Let us read the rules established for his use in the "Laws of Manu":

*"Everywhere where women are honoured, the Divinities are satisfied; but when they are not honoured, every pious action becomes sterile."*

*"His wife and his son are as his own body."*

*"A man should wear his hair cut, as well as his nails, and his beard. He should be firm in his austerities, he should be pure, diligent in studying the Vedas and all that can be good for him."*

*"He should guard himself from atheism, hate, hypocrisy, pride, anger, and ill-humour."*

What man can boast of having lived in full accordance with these rules ?

To the ideal of a wife is added that of a Mother. It even excels the former.

*"May thy Mother be for thee as a divinity. A mother surpasses in value a thousand fathers. The man who kisses the feet of his mother lives in heaven."*

The word "Mother" ought to be sacred for a Hindu. From his infancy, she is often for him a model of abnegation, the first to give way in a useless discussion, the first also to pardon and establish calm and peace. Was it not



our poet-saint, Tukaram, who said:

*"A baby goes instinctively towards his mother to ask for her help. The mother knows exactly what he desires and hastens to him with joyous love. A baby makes no distinction between a cord and a serpent; he would touch fire. He knows nothing—but he knows his mother."*

In the last century, was it not Vivekananda, the great philosopher-mystic, the disciple of Ramakrishna, who, in his conferences in the United States, cited his mother as a model of Hindu women: "It is my mother," he cried, "who in my life and in my work has been my constant inspiration."

By all the ancient leaders of India, those "builders of Unity," the woman, the Mother, guardian of the home, is honoured. And, as rightly said sometime ago a Mussulman lady, the Princess Niloufer of Hyderabad:

*"Let us not, however, deceive ourselves by thinking that we have only to teach our village sisters and nothing to learn from them. Unsophisticated and thus unlike many of us who suffer from a little education and many complexes, their simplicity has the virtues and the fascination of the great primeval things of life. With them nature still retains its pristine meaning and the elements, water, air and earth, their original use and value. Poverty and the caprices of the seasons have brought to them the dignity of labour, and hardships the fruits of endurance. The produce of the fields, on which a large part of our stability depends, is as much the work of their toiling hands as those of men. Their life does not admit of such luxuries as seclusion; above all, centuries of association have brought them together, despite differences of race or religion, in the courtesy of a common interest. These are some of the lessons which we, who wish to work for their uplift, their education and the lightening of their burdens, can well learn from them."*

Yes, indeed, the merits of the women of Hindu villages are great. These mothers and wives are beautiful examples,

in truth, for "the high social classes of India."

Certainly, a great deal remains to be done with regard to the emancipation of woman in India. If we see today devoted Hindu women occupying themselves with social service in the towns as in the villages, there are still very many women in India who are lowered to the rank of servants and who are in total darkness with respect to the great horizons of life.

The Maharani of a great Hindu State, speaking one day on the rôle of woman in modern India, rightly said:

*"An ideal feminine education, leading to a wider, freer life is difficult to realise. It must be one that will prepare its pupils for all human duties—those of the household, as mother, daughter, wife, and those of the State as useful members of the community. It must be practical as well as theoretical, physiological as well as psychological."*

In India, as elsewhere, so many formidable problems remain to be solved. The homes of India need air, above all in the poor classes of society. The many, patient sacrifices of the village women ought to have their reward. In the meantime, we can murmur this sweet prayer from the *Ramayana*:

*"Make me a spouse like Sita;  
Give me a husband like Rama."*

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We have seen the coming of the dawn in the villages, we have assisted at the villagers' daily life, as well as at their fêtes, we have visited the poor dwellings and contemplated for an instant the ideal home. It remains for us now to consider the most moving hour of all: the evening hour when everything, people, animals, things, assume a special aspect.

How shall we describe this aspect of the routes of India in the evening, between the hours of five and seven?

Let us take some different village scenes. In the centre of the village is a beautiful temple, Vishnuist or Shivaist, with an ancient gopuram. Before the temple extends the great sacred tank with steps of stone leading down to its tranquil water. On these steps, used by generations of beings, women in their saris are bathing, the wet cloth allowing their sculptural forms to be seen. Their long, black hair is spangled with drops of glistening water. On the other side of the tank, the temple's sacred elephant is calmly entering the ripples for his twilight bath.

Near the temple, under the *pīpal* trees (fig trees with heavy branches), some children are playing. Strolling along a path across the rice fields are some young, laughing girls, taking their evening walk, sprays of jasmine twined in their black hair.

The herds come plodding along the village tracks, peacefully and joyously returning to their stables which smell sweet of newly-mown hay from the great plains. From within the temple, a bell announces an offering to the divinity, devotion propitious to the evening meditation.

Then the stirring hour comes. First, the gopuram announces it. Its red stones glow in the rays of the setting sun; then, the whole temple is illumined, the serene waters of the tank reflect the sky's purple salute to the earth; the thatched roofs of houses, beasts, people, are all aureoled by a fairy light so intense that it makes everything seem unreal. Then, from the magic palette all is suddenly transformed, red is changed to an incomparable orange-yellow light.

Nature has donned her mystic robe, her robe of prayer, the one which Gautama the Buddha wore during his long wanderings across the land of India. Everything is flooded in this light. It lusters the tiniest blades of grass, and glows over a little girl standing naked in the middle of a shady pond, with her hair falling on her neck, picking lous among iridescent dragon-flies for an offering to the goddess Lakshmi.

Together with this orange-yellow aureole descends an infinite peace. The birds sing their evening hymn. From the warm earth rises the sweet fragrance of jasmine.

Night falls. Under the great palms, the little lights of the bazaar shed their smoky brightness, while the lights of heaven sparkle in all their magic brilliance. In the humble dwellings, the mother rocks her baby in the eternal gesture. While the gods watch in the fragrant Indian night, all grows hushed, all falls asleep in the mystic atmosphere of *Aryavarta*.

## CHAPTER XXIV

### FROM THE TAIL OF A MONKEY TO THE TUMULT OF THE OCEAN

**T**HE repairs to our car are finished. We bid farewell to kind and hospitable Major L. and his wife, our compatriot.

At a very early hour, we set out via Nasik for Bombay. We stop on the way at Aurangabad to visit the exact, but smaller, reproduction of the Taj Mahal. At Agra, the famous "poem in marble" was erected by Shah Jehan to the memory of his beloved, Mumtaz-Mahal. At Aurangabad, the little Taj Mahal was erected by Aurangzeb to his mother. Unfortunately, we have no time to visit the caves in the town.

We again follow the route leading to Ellora, as it is also the way to Nasik. A pale sun peeps out from behind the clouds from time to time, but the sky looks threatening. A last look at the fortress of Daulatabad and its neighbour the minaret; then, after climbing the steep *ghats*, we put on speed as we have to make a long stage.

The caves of Ellora appear before us again. We stop for a moment to look at them, cloistered in their impressive solitude. Then, redescending towards the plain, we cross the pretty village of Ellora. It is a place full of poetry. Perched on a tiny hill in the shade of beautiful tall trees is a little Shivaist temple, with a vast staircase descending to a brook singing as it winds along beneath a tangle of green. Two Hindu women are washing their saris in its crystal water. A joyous concert of birds fills the air with sound.

As we leave the State of Hyderabad to enter the Presidency of Bombay, everything becomes Hindu again. No

more fez, nor little blouses, nor horsemen, but saris, *dhatis*, the sign of Vishnu or Shiva on the forehead, and all the familiar sights. On the road, we photograph a group of unhappy little children, led by an old man. They are quite naked and look very poor.

At noon, we take a hasty lunch in a village. The weather becomes worse and worse and we start off again under a heavy shower. The road is worn away by the monsoon torrents which for hours beat down on our brave car. Waves of mud rise to assault the bonnet and veil the windows. Even the wind-screen wiper is broken. We make it function with some cord as well as we can in the storm whose force throws us to one side of the road. The trees are bent under the great blasts of wind. Sun! Sun! Surya! Where are you?

Five o'clock. In a moment of calm, we arrive at Nasik. We shall spend the night at this last halt on our long journey before arriving at Bombay, in order that we may have time to visit the town, so celebrated for its pilgrimages. As at Rameshwaram, the figure of Rama, the hero of the *Ramayana* predominates at Nasik. It is a very holy city and one of the most ancient towns of India.

Nasik takes its name from the Sanskrit word, *Nasika*, which signifies *nose*. A legend narrates that it is in this very place that Lakshmana, the younger brother of Rama, cut off the giant Sarpnaka's nose. Sarpnaka was the sister of Ravana the demon who carried away Sita, Rama's sweet spouse. There is yet another legend which says that the temples of Nasik, and they are numerous, were all built from the ashes of the tail of Hanuman the good, brave monkey-god whose astonishing deeds of bravery in defence of Rama and Sita are recounted in the *Ramayana*. This is one reason why the monkey is considered sacred in India. There are also other reasons, very profound ones, for treating this quadrumane with respect, above all the anthropoides, for according to the teaching of Hindu philosophy, it is not man who descends from the monkey

but the monkey who originally came from man by monstrous crossings. However, that is another story which would make the bones of the late Mr. Darwin turn pale. To come back to the legend, Hanuman, fleeing from Lanka in Ceylon where the demon Ravana had covered our brave hero's tail with an inflammable product which caught fire, leaped into space and in one jump reached Nasik, his country. There, alas! the monkey-god's worthy ornament fell into ashes, and in each spot where these ashes fell on the soil a temple sprang up....

What a picturesque story! But the real cause of the town's sanctity, without doubt, is Rama's presence. One is shown the place on the brink of the river that flows through the city where he bathed. It is true that the temples are very numerous, they are everywhere, in the streets, in the lanes, even on the rocks that emerge from the river. All of them have their special legend. The most beautiful of these temples is the one standing in the centre of the city. There are also many caves in the country neighbouring the town, but alas! we cannot for want of time visit them.

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....The last stage of our journey is coming to an end. Starting from Nasik very early this morning, we are now in view of Bombay. A hot, violent wind penetrates the car. Happily, this monsoon gale chases away the clouds and allows the sun to smile for an instant over the great town's suburbs. But what is that tumult? The Indian Ocean which has broken bounds. At a turning in the road, we see its enormous waves curling over the beach and hurling clouds of spray over the road. Bombay. The Sea! Going back to the West. The end of the prodigious voyage.

We are silent. Our eyes are filling with the last scenes. Over the sea, the Island of Elephanta is fringed with seething foam. We should have liked to visit these famous caves but the furious ocean bars our way. Malabar Hill





## CHAPTER XXV

### THE SACRED ROUTES

**F**ROM the deck of the ship speeding us away towards Europe already vibrating under the tramp of marching armies, we watch the land of India receding little by little into the distance.

The ghats, the islands, Malabar Hill, gradually obscure in the grey mist and disappear from sight. Ended the great pilgrimage! Ended the radiant voyage!

On the horizon, there is nothing now but the Arabian Sea on whose roaring, heaving surge our good ship is rolling. Evening comes and the lights on board shine out over the crested waves. We hide ourselves in a corner of the deck sheltered from the wind in order to think, to exchange impressions with her whose picture will never fade away.

India! Is it possible to believe that the Mother will no more lift up her voice in the world, that her wisdom will no more enlighten the peoples who are physically and morally hungry? We cannot believe it. If India as a living soul were to disappear, the entire world would be plunged into still deeper darkness. But that is impossible. The ancient splendour and glory of Greece, of Egypt, and Chaldea, are buried beneath the sands of deserts and oblivion. Among the heroic civilisations, India, as the ancient and vigilant guardian of all true civilisation, must stand ever at her post.

Her soil, it is true, has suffered the violence of barbarous invasions. And what invasions! Greeks, Mussulmans, Huns, Mongols, all these hordes have in turn unfurled in gigantic waves over the plains of Hindustan, striking and shaking the foundations of this immense em-

pire, vast as Europe, Russia excepted, and peopled with nearly 400 millions of beings. Epic struggles, merciless massacres, sometimes even presaging the total collapse of the Empire. But neither the carnage nor the battle cries of Attila's horsemen, the armies of Alexander, nor those of the Mogul emperors, could beat down India's passive resistance. Through all these vicissitudes, her soul has remained alive. We say expressly her *soul*, that of long ago.

"So," some will say, "all is then perfect in India." No, indeed, all is not perfect. India, as every other nation, has her weaknesses. She has also committed grave errors, it would be futile to deny it. Moreover, there is her great poverty amid her natural riches.

In writing these pages, our role has not been to describe what others have already related. Our aim has been to spread the fragrance of India, to make this wonderful fragrance breathed, her Spiritual Fragrance, ancient and immortal. It is the most beautiful gift that she could offer to us.

For this offering, we must love her. But to love India, it is necessary to go to her, to understand her. One must commence, as we have already said at the beginning of this work, by freeing ourselves of those false conceptions which make us see her through the eyes of charlatan yogis, whose only sanctity is that which we ourselves attribute to them. "Magic!" "Mysterious India!" "Fascinating India!" So many awkward epithets which mask the real India. Certain travellers, thirsting for the marvellous, imagine that on disembarking on the quay of Bombay or Colombo, they have the right to share the secrets of some mysterious Brahman, or that on account of their good looks, a Mahatma, a real one with flesh and bones, a great sage, is going to lead them away to an *ashram*, a nearly inaccessible retreat, in order to make of them no more or less than "initiates." Moreover, when they come back to the West, these seekers for spiritual treasure, these hunters after mysterious personages, assume grave, solemn airs, saying: "I knew a Mahatma." These attitudes, in reality, only

hide their disappointment at not having met such beings, or for not having themselves been able to play the role of a Mahatma, this word signifying Great Soul.

It is indeed so. One goes to India as one goes, when in Paris, to the Chatelet theatre. One wishes to see a fairy story, some "tricks," a tree which grows in five minutes, watch in hand, phantoms which pass like the breeze over a moon-lit field, one wants to have a little thrill, and above all, oh! above all, to have the air, as we said, of being wrapped in a sumptuous mantle of mystery. Mystery! Mystery! We ourselves are one but we do not seem to have the least idea of that. In fact, the mystery of our being does not interest us. Or, it makes us afraid—with good reason. To discover the mystery which we carry within us needs courage, intrepidity, and we do not possess them, even when there is question of getting rid of the *immondices* which lie at our door.

Then, some will sigh, with a touch of melancholy, if India is no longer thrilling, if India is no longer mysterious, where to go now?

Let us reassure these anxious ones. *There is mystery* in India. That is a sure fact. Even in the time of Cyrus and Alexander, or during the first Chinese dynasties, the reports of travellers or of the conquerors were filled with anecdotes about the "marvels" performed by certain men in the fabulous country of Hindustan. So the attributing of mystery to India reaches to the highest antiquity. But the true mystery is not generally what one thinks it is. The tricks of fakirs, the occult powers, are after all but a very small part of mystery, doubtless the most attractive side for many persons, but certainly the most deceiving, the most dangerous, and the one which masks, let us repeat it, the real India.

The true mystery of India resides in her Hidden Wisdom.

If India by her immortal genius has contributed more than any other nation to the progress of the world, if during milleniums her light has radiated over humanity, if she has

crossed with impunity through violent tempests of iron and fire, it is thanks precisely to her Hidden Wisdom, this armour forged from the male energy of Truth, forged by Nature herself. This wisdom is beyond time and the terrible greed of men, this formidable greed, sometimes unconscious but generally conscious, which makes even the most sacred ideas serve personal ends. It is beyond time and men, because Truth *is* the hidden energy, the hidden heat, the hidden light of Nature. It can be veiled, distorted by men, but sooner or later it will reappear, always true to itself in its sparkling noumenal beauty.

The powers of Man and of Nature are *one*. Should man discover in himself these powers, he will discover Nature. She will reveal her secrets to him. In the words of an old book of Asia: "She will open wide before thee the portals of her secret chambers, lay bare before thy gaze the treasures hidden in the very depths of her pure virgin bosom." Then the being in us will see the goal towards which gravitate the Cosmos and all creatures, "the goal," says the same work, "beyond which lie, bathed in the sunlight of the Spirit, glories untold, unseen by any save the eye of Soul."\*

That is the mystery of India. There resides her real magic.

During the revolving ages, India's Great Sons have built up her hidden Unity. They have taught but one Truth: "the accumulated wisdom of the ages." It is this wisdom that has inspired all culture worthy of the name. If Greek culture has influenced Western civilisation, we must not forget that, in spite of the inestimable benefits of Greece to India, the ancient Greeks themselves were also sons of Hindu thought. As has already been mentioned in a preceding chapter, Pythagoras went to India in order to draw from the very source the principles which constituted the foundation of his doctrine and which in its turn

\**The Book of the Golden Precepts*—most of these precepts are translated from Tibetan.

influenced Plato, Socrates, and even Aristotle to a certain degree. Apollonius of Tyanae, Plotin, did they not follow in the footprints of their predecessors, in directing themselves towards far-off India? China, Persia, Islam—the three-fourths of Asia—these civilisations which had already been influenced by the missions of Asoka, were they not attracted by India's wisdom? That is the reason why ancient India is our Mother. In the measure that we Westerners make our intellectual and spiritual genealogy reach back to India shall we learn to love her and to consider in its true light her wisdom, the patrimony of every man.

Listen well. In order to understand and adopt the genius of India, does not mean to lessen the marvellous intellectual and spiritual values of the West. East and West ought to understand each other. The West has need of India. India equally has need of the West, of the best that it has in its civilisation. It is not a question of India imitating the West. She must remain herself, at the same time borrowing from the West certain of her intellectual, artistic, and even spiritual values, as well as the methods capable of bringing her more well-being and of lessening her misery and poverty. Modern Hindus ought to remain faithful to the teachings of their Mother, on condition that these teachings be cleansed of superstition and error. It is to this task that long ago men such as Mohan Roy, Dayanand Sarasvati Swami, Ramakrishna, Vivekananda, and others consecrated themselves.

To India then can be applied the magnificent phrase of Michelet when he cried:

*"There are peoples who are necessary."*

Yes, it is true. There are peoples who are necessary. India is necessary to the world. At present, the black forces of hate, brutality, hypocrisy, egoism, superstition, prostitution, and alcohol, ravage the earth. Nevertheless, above these human cyclones stand Ideal Figures who are as many sacred routes for humanity. Krishna, Buddha, Jesus, Sankaracharya, Confucius, Zoroaster, Moses, Maho-

met, Pythagoras, Plato...., all in their purest teachings point out the Glowing Landmarks on the sacred routes of Truth, Nobility, Brotherhood, Peace.

Who will follow them ?

The World of Tomorrow will be what we want it to be. If we desire above all things true knowledge, the knowledge which brings liberty and peace, not slavery and dictatorship, either fascist or nazi, then let us not neglect the sublime teachings of the Guardians of the Sacred Routes. May all beings open their soul to the realities of life, to the fundamental laws of the universe. Above all, may they not close their soul. This would be too grave. There would be no longer a beacon, there would be no more a route, there would be but the darkness and chaos of barbarism.

If, on the other hand, we lift our eyes without ceasing towards the world of light where dwell for ever the Guardians of humanity, its *true* Educators, then we shall be able to say with the great Bergson:

*"The great moral figures who are engraved in history take one another's hands across the centuries, above our human cities: together they compose a divine city that they invite us to enter."\**

The jungle of India still echoes with the songs of Vedic hymns, those that were sung from the very dawn of the Aryan civilisation; the divine melodies of Shri Krishna's flute are still vibrating in the discourses of the *Gita*; the philosophy of Sankara still inspires the lives of multitudes of beings; while in Ceylon, Nepal, Tibet, the sublime figure of the Buddha stands out and indicates to us the way of peace. The great Sages raise aloft their glowing torches, flooding with their sacred radiance the routes which lead towards them, the Masters of Life and Death. These routes, after all, are but one: the route of wisdom that lifts a man above himself and makes of him a conqueror.

\* H. Bergson—*Les Sources de la Morale et de la Religion*.

To inhale the fragrance of India is to enter the atmosphere of these Great Beings, to enter the magic of their presence. The discovery of this magic renders all men brothers in the pursuit of democracies.

During last century, one of these Sages wrote from the snowy mountains of the Himalayas:

*"There was a time, when from sea to sea, from the mountains and deserts of the North to the grand woods and oceans of Ceylon, there was but one faith, one rallying cry—to save humanity from the miseries of ignorance in the name of Him who taught first the solidarity of all men. How is it now?"*

The question arises again at the present hour. Can we answer it?

In the depth of every being, there echoes the soul's cry demanding to realise itself, to project on to the exterior screen of life what it is in reality, in the full liberty of its consciousness. This human soul does not want to be a slave, it does not want to have its voice stifled by foreign hands. For this cry is the burning aspiration of its most intimate and sacred being—the aspiration of all peoples towards a sure happiness, towards the fragrant shores of peace and liberty.

From ancient India there comes the eternal call, still resounding in our overmired world like a sonorous gong:

*"Seek the Great Ones and understand."*<sup>1</sup>

Such is the call of the Mother to her children. It is for us to answer by chanting the verse murmured for millenniums in the temples of India, verse which each morning in the vigil of our life should be our invocation:

*"LEAD ME FROM THE UNTREAL TO THE REAL.  
LEAD ME FROM OBSCURITY TO LIGHT.  
LEAD ME FROM DEATH TO IMMORTALITY."*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Upanishads.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*





is symbolised by the reed (*riśikhaka*) he carries in his character of the scribe of the gods, who, in fact, even condescended to take down the dictation of the *Mahābhārata* by Vyāsa on condition that if Vyāsa did not stop anywhere in the middle of his composition he (Gaṇeśa) would not write down a single verse without understanding its meaning. Though his sonship to Śiva (Rudra) betrays his origin, his later developments serve to show how the religious mind can transform almost intractable materials into lovable figures and to change a troublesome spirit into "the genial protector of households and the personification of common sense, whose aid should be first invoked in all worldly enterprises."<sup>121</sup>

The same process is at work in the Śakti cult, although there the original form is not so definitely anti-divine.<sup>122</sup> The Aryan aspect of the Śakti cult is more allied to the creative side, while the non-Aryan contribution is probably more concerned with the destructive side of the divine nature. The Aryan prototypes of Śakti are the originally colourless wives of the Vedic gods,<sup>123</sup> who were latterly invested with the function of energising their lethargic husbands and, in fact, of using them as the instruments of their creative activity. Then there are Aditi,<sup>124</sup> the great mother out of whom all creation comes; Māyā, without whose association Brahman is unable to create; and Prakṛti, which alone brings this varied world into being while Puruṣa behaves as an inactive spectator of the world-drama. It would be interesting to know if the belief in the destructive aspect of a Mother-Goddess was a satire upon the increasing disinclination to kill among the Aryans as a result of Jaina, Bauddha and Vaiṣṇava teachings and embodied a vision of days when, should men become effeminate, women

lord of creation, who is invoked in letters of invitation to marriages, takes the form of a butterfly which is another meaning of the Bengali word 'Prajāpati.' (For the more usual articles in the hands of Gaṇeśa, see Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, p. 145 f.)

<sup>121</sup> Havell, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

<sup>122</sup> See N. K. Bhattasali's *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, p. 178 f. for Vedic references.

<sup>123</sup> See Keith, *Rel. and Phil. of the Veda and Upanishads*, Vol. I, p. 218.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 215 f.

would become manlike and destroy all evil threatened from enemies and savages. Possibly the mother-cult came from people worshipping female spirits of dark intentions who were propitiated by suitable offerings. We still have among us such "negative" goddesses as Śītalā, the goddess of small-pox, and Manasā, the goddess of snakes, who are prayed to not so much for granting the worshipper any good as for leaving him alone in peace. The fire-association of many of the names of Śakti<sup>125</sup> may also be due to the fact that it is in connection with huge forest-fires, where a veritable holocaust of animals would take place, that the cult arose. Corresponding to the *gaṇas* a troop of female furies was associated with Devī, the Śakti of Śiva. The tradition that she had her home in the Vindhyas and was fond of flesh and wine and that her devotees were hilly tribes would point to an admixture of aboriginal worship in her cult.<sup>126</sup> In her terrible forms of Kālī, Durgā (or Mahiṣamardīnī), Candī and Cāmundā she has exacted the homage of her worshippers as a proper consort of Rudra or Mahākāla. Her insatiable blood-thirst has been symbolised by the Chinnamastā image, in which she is depicted as a decapitated female figure holding the severed head in her hand and sending up a fountain of blood into her own mouth. There is no doubt that the cult is a composite one<sup>127</sup> and that both Vedic and non-Vedic elements have entered into its structure.

Here, again, has devotion achieved wonders. The unerring human instinct, which finds in the mother the first tender source of satisfaction of its hunger and thirst, felt the need of

<sup>125</sup> See Muṇḍ. Up. 1. 2. 4 for the names of the seven tongues of fire (the first two are Kālī and Karālī).

<sup>126</sup> See Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 143; see Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

<sup>127</sup> Muir observes as follows: "As in Śiva, first of all two gods, Agni and Rudra, are combined, so too his wife is to be regarded as a compound of several divine forms, and this becomes quite evident if we look over the mass of her epithets. While one set of these, as Umā, Ambikā, Pārvatī, Haimavatī, belong to the wife of Rudra, others as Kālī, Karālī carry us back to the wife of Agni, while Gaurī and others perhaps refer to Nirṛiti, the goddess of all evil."—*O.S.T.*, IV, Ch. III, Sec. viii. For Vaiṣṇava association, see Arjuna's hymn to Durgā in *M.Bh.*, Bhīṣmaparvan, 796 f., and also Virāṭaparvan, 178 f., and Harivaṃśa, 3236 f. (See Muir, *ibid.*, p. 368 f. and p. 361, f.n. 337.) See Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 224.

a similar divine being who would take greater pity on human failing and suffering than a stern Heavenly Father. God as Mother could fulfil at least two of the conditions of divinity, *viz.*, creation and preservation, if the human mother is to be taken as an earthly analogue. Only there may be some doubt about her capacity to destroy. The cruel and destructive aspect of Śakti served to show that if due occasion should arise, she would not be found wanting even in that capacity either: possibly there was an element of over-compensation in the process and the terrifying colours were painted more thick than necessary.<sup>128</sup> But the primary interest must have been the need of a female god to whom the sinner could unburden his soul more fully than to a male deity and with surer chance of forgiveness. In Vaiṣṇavism where Lakṣmī remained to the end a devoted wife, she is prayed to for interceding<sup>129</sup> on behalf of the sinner and securing the relenting grace of her husband. But Devī or Śakti is a far more independent deity<sup>130</sup> from the beginning and she herself absolves the sinner from his guilt out of motherly affection. In popular hymns fervent prayers go up to her to forgive her foolish and erring sons as all good mothers are wont to do. We thus reach the position that Śakti is not an intercessor but the supreme divinity herself.

According to the philosophical view that Śakti (energy) and Śaktimat (the being possessing the energy) are non-distinguishable (*abhinna*) it is not possible to keep Śiva and Śakti separate—Śiva (or Brahmā or Viṣṇu) cannot act without Śakti and therefore the two are identical. Here is a quotation from a Tamil Śaiva saint, Arul Nandi, where Śakti is not absolutely independent of Śiva but is an expression of his powers. “She, who is Īśa’s *kṛpāśakti* (grace), *icchāśakti* (will), *kriyāśakti* (action), *jñānaśakti* (knowledge), who is the cause of all creation, sustentation and destruction, who is

<sup>128</sup> Cruelty associated with a mother-cult is not present in Hinduism alone. See Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, II, p. 276.

<sup>129</sup> See B. N. Seal, *Comparative Studies in Vaiṣṇavism and Christianity*; see, however, *Tattvatraṇya* (Chowkhāmbā Ed.), p. 98, where Mahālakṣmī appears in an opposite role.

For the increasing importance of Lakṣmī in later Vaiṣṇavism and its causes see H. C. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

<sup>130</sup> Keith, *Rel. and Phil. of the Veda and Upanishads*, I, p. 218.

*rūpa* (form) and *arūpa* (formlessness) and neither, who is the consort of *Īśa* in these forms, who is all this world and all this wealth, who begets the whole world and sustains them : the Gracious Feet of this *our Mother*, who imparts blissful immortality to souls, and removes their bondages of birth and who remains seated with *our Father* in the hearts of the Freed, let me lift upon my head."<sup>131</sup> But it is possible to go beyond this stage and to think that *Sakti* is the support of the whole universe and *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu* and *Siva* are only forms assumed or created by *Sakti* to fulfil different cosmic functions. This is mythically represented by *Siva*, *Viṣṇu* and *Brahmā* being made to be the children of *Sakti* who then chooses *Siva* as her spouse,<sup>132</sup> presumably because destruction is a more palpable expression of energy than creation and preservation. When this conception is reached, *Sakti* becomes identified with *Brahman*, the formless Absolute from which all things proceed and in which all things are dissolved. Numerous passages can be quoted from the *Tantras*, the special *Sākta* literature, to prove this identification, and some parts of the *Tantra* literature, *e.g.*, the first few *Ullāsas* (chapters) of the *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra*, would read like a *Vedāntic* manual. Conformably to this belief, the worship of other gods and all non-*Tāntric* modes of worship are regarded as inferior and incapable of liberating the soul. Here is a characteristic passage from *Tantra* literature : " The human being, desirous of final emancipation, enters the path of devotion, first as a *Saurā*

<sup>131</sup> *Proceedings of the Conception of Religions in India*, 1909, Vol. II, p. 128. For the relation of *Siva* and *Sakti*, see Arthur Avalon, *Tantra of the Great Liberation*, p. xix f.

<sup>132</sup> A goddess with a young subordinate god is known in early times on every coast of the Mediterranean which looked towards Crete. In Punic Africa she is *Tanit* with her son; in Egypt, *Isis* with *Horus*; in Phoenicia, *Ashtaro* with *Tammuz* (*Adonis*); in Asia Minor, *Cybele* with *Attis*; in Greece (as especially in Greek Crete itself), *Rhea* with the young *Zeus*. Everywhere she is *parthenos*, *i.e.*, unwed, but made the mother first of her companion by immaculate conception, and then of the gods and all life by the embrace of her own son. In memory of these original facts, her cult (especially the more esoteric mysteries of it) is marked by various practices and observances symbolic of the negation of true marriage and obliteration of sex. A part of her male votaries are castrated; and her female votaries must ignore their married state when in her personal service, and often practise ceremonial promiscuity.—*ERE*. i. 147 (art. *ÆGEAN RELIGION*).

(worshipper of the Sun) and for twelve successive lives, goes to the Solar regions and comes back, finally to attain the *Sārṣṭi-mukti* after losing himself in Brahma at the end of a *kalpa*. He is then born again as a *Gāṇapatya* (worshipper of Gaṇapati) in the next *kalpa* and after eight births, attains similarly the *Sāmīpya-mukti*. In the next *kalpa*, he is born again as a *Vaiṣṇava* (worshipper of Viṣṇu), and after seven births, attains the *Sālokya-mukti*. Similarly, in the succeeding *kalpa*, he takes birth as a *Śaiva* (worshipper of Śiva), and worshipping Śiva for five births, obtains the *Sāyujya-mukti* and for the life-time of a hundred Brahmas, lives in Śiva-like form in the *Śiva-loka*. He again takes his birth and in pursuance of his ideas and customs, worships Śakti for four lives, after that he takes his rest in *Cit* (Intelligence Pure) and attains the *Kairalya-* or *Nirvāṇa-mukti* or the Highest Salvation. Of all the worshippers of the five gods, only the devotee worshipping with the *Śakti mantra* attains *Nirvāṇa-mukti* or Salvation.'<sup>133</sup>

When we are talking of the evolution of the Śakti cult we are referring not so much to the addition of Absolutistic terminology as to an emphasis upon it, for even very early speculations had invested the deity with some of the highest qualities of divinity. In the Kena Upaniṣad Umā Haimavatī appears as a revealer of the nature of Brahman and she was herself frequently identified with Sarasvatī, the personified Vedic lore. A transition to the Absolutistic conception was therefore easy and natural. Duly she became the revealer of the Nigama—the body of spiritual truths which she discoursed to Śiva for the benefit of the entire creation in the Kaliyuga. The Tantras reiterated the efficacy of *mantras* and prescribed certain *yantras* or diagrams as representing the forms in which the different deities received their offerings. The *mantras* arranged in and about a *yantra* formed a mystic

<sup>133</sup> Quoted in the *Proceedings of the Convention of Religions in India, 1909*, Vol. II, p. 149. For the five types of *mukti*, see Kennedy, *The Chaitanya Movement*, p. 98 (*sālokya*-being in the same plane with God; *sāmīpya*-nearness to God; *sārūpya*-likeness to God; *sārṣṭi*-equalling the glory of God; *sāyujya*-absorption in God).

divine body and everyone had to receive Tāntric initiation (*dīkṣā*) to be entitled to spiritual comradeship and salvation. The Purāṇas had supplied the mythology of the gods; the Tantras provided the rituals. In course of time the cult overstepped its original Śaiva limits and not only acknowledged the wives of the other gods as the Śaktis of the latter, just as Durgā, Pārvatī, Umā or Gaurī was of Śiva, but also prescribed forms of ritualistic worship for all gods, male and female. While it provided for congregational worship of a questionable type in the Śrīcakra (the circle)—practically the only other congregational worship outside Vaiṣṇavism—and abolished caste-distinctions there, it definitely raised the dignity of women, remembering that these belonged to the same sex as the Supreme Goddess, supported the marriage of widows and opposed the practice of *Satī* or immolation of women on the funeral pyres of their husbands just deceased.<sup>134</sup> Now it is these appeals that could spread the cult from Kashmir to Cape Comorin (Kanyā-kumārī) among philosophers and devout men and not the *Pañca-makāra*, the so-called five M's, namely, *madya* (wine), *māṃsa* (meat), *matsya* (fish), *mudrā* (parched grain)<sup>135</sup> and *maithuna* (coition), which to ill-informed minds carry the entire significance of Śāktaism. As to the liberties permitted to the "hero" (*vīra*), it is well to remember that he has been defined as one who has controlled his senses, is truthful and ever engaged in worship and has sacrificed lust and other passions.<sup>136</sup> Did not the Upaniṣad speak in almost identical terms of what is permitted to the liberated, knowing full well that to such natures morally reprehensible acts are impossible? <sup>137</sup> In fact, the aim of the entire Tāntric discipline is to sublimate the lower instincts and to raise the soul from sex (*Mūlādhāra*) to salvation (*Sahasrāra*) after transcending the intermediate obstacles.<sup>138</sup> As usual, the danger has come

<sup>134</sup> See Eliot, *op. cit.*, II, p. 285.

<sup>135</sup> The translation is of A. Avalon.—See *Tantra of the Great Liberation*, Introd., p. cxi f.; also p. cxviii f.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, Intr., p. cxii.

<sup>137</sup> Chān. Up., 5. 10. 9-10.

<sup>138</sup> The six *cakras* or centres are Mūlādhāra, Svādhiṣṭhāna, Maṇipūra, Anāhata, Viśuddha, and Ājñā from below upwards. These *cakras* (they have been

from using equivocal language in spiritual matters, for the ordinary mind, failing to make out the symbolism, has fixed upon the letter of the text and thereby excused itself into indulgences, superstitions and magical practices.

We shall now close our review of the major sects of Hinduism with some general reflections and some account of later developments. An historical study of the different forms of faith reveals the interesting fact that the Indo-Aryan mind gradually outgrew its Vedic polytheism with unaided effort only to transcend theism altogether and land in a speculative monism which, while degrading the status of the gods, increased enormously the prestige of the wise man. The popular mind, however, while it reconciled itself gradually to the loss of most of the Vedic rituals, refused to abandon the gods, with the effect that monotheism in some form or other reared its head. Even the Vedānta system, which summarised the Upaniṣadic teachings, had to provide for the satisfaction of the theistic bent of the human mind by postulating the reality of God at least for devotional purposes, and some Vedāntic commentators could also make adequate provision for the reality of the individual soul and the divine government of the world in their interpretation of the *Brahma-Sūtra*. Increased acquaintance with simpler forms of worship and contact with indigenous population led not only to increased emphasis on the element of devotion but also to the relaxation of caste rules. The acceptance of a Supreme God led to the subordination of the law of Karma to Divine grace and to the softening of the rigours of the law of transmigration. In its search after an ideal godhead the growing ethical sense moralised the character of one or other of the ancient gods and laid emphasis not only on the unitary character of God but also on His holiness, His abhorrence of sin and His ready

often identified with the plexuses) must be pierced or conquered before the union of the Jīva with Parama-Sīva (which is the *sāttvika* or spiritual meaning of *Maithuna* or coition) can take place. See Avalon, *Tantra of the Great Liberation*, Intr., p. lvii f.; p. cxxxii f. Union with Tripurāsundarī became an objective in some Śakti cults.—See Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

forgiveness of sins confessed and abandoned. While the danger of lapsing into an unethical religion, owing to the persistence of early literary traditions and the equivocal language of devotion, could not be entirely overcome, a sense of propriety limited its extension to society at large in the past and has now practically overcome it altogether.

We approach now the post-Paurāṇic religious history of India where religious forces other than Hindu came into operation. Genuine indigenous development of religion took the form of syncretism and toleration. The non-difference of Hari (Viṣṇu) and Hara (Śiva) has already been referred to. The association of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva with their respective Śaktis, of which Buddhistic analogues are well known, was established. The trinity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva with their respective cosmic functions of creation, preservation and destruction was introduced, and a combination of these functions in each god, especially in Viṣṇu and Śiva, was preached, thus recognising that the three were ultimately one in essence. When Brahmā disappeared from the field of religion and Śakti, Gaṇeśa and Sūrya were added, the same syncretism manifested itself in the worship of the five gods among the Smārtas, which thus broke down the religious isolation of the different sects, especially in South India, but re-introduced a limited polytheism, at least in appearance, among the largest majority of the Hindu population. But for the fact that Hindu polytheism is always tempered by Vedāntic monism (of which the philosophy of Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahansa is a modern example), this might have led to a recrudescence of crass polytheism : actually, however, it led to a henotheism where there is for the time being only one principal god and the other gods are subordinate to him. The preaching of Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahansa that each method of belief is equally with others a true path of religion<sup>139</sup> is as much a reaffirmation of the Gītā ideal of manifold approach as a reiteration of the creed of syncretistic Hinduism of this type.

<sup>139</sup> See Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, p. 192 f. Keshab Chandra Sen's New Dispensation was a similar eclectic belief.—*Ibid*, p. 57 f.; p. 64.



The introduction of Semitic monotheism in India through Christianity and Islam has deeply affected not only Hindu social organisation but also Hindu religious thought. A deeper appreciation of the unity of God from the latter and of the value of devotion from the former led to a number of reforming movements in mediæval and modern India. Some like Kabir and Nānak attempted to fuse Hinduism and Islam through ethical non-ritualistic monotheism while retaining for the most part Hindu religious ideas and appellations. Some like Rāmānanda, Caitanya, Nāmadeva and Tulasīdāsa stuck to Vaiṣṇava monotheism but flooded it with the language of piety and devotion and used the vernacular medium in their preachings to bring religion home to the minds of the people. Similar Śaivite revivals took place in South India.

Brought face to face with the monotheism of the West, three reforming movements have arisen to stem the tide of conversion. The Ārya Samāj has revived Vedicism<sup>140</sup> and, while abolishing caste and idolatry, has given a monotheistic interpretation to the Vedic religion. It has revived oblation (*havana*) with an altered meaning and without animal sacrifice but has abandoned most of the later Hindu beliefs. The Brāhma Samāj was conceived in a different spirit. While the Ārya Samāj was launched in opposition to Islam and Christianity, the Brāhma Samāj wished to utilise the best points of both, while professing to revive the religion of the Upaniṣads. The three earliest reformers belonging to this Church—Ram Mohan Roy, Devendra Nath Tagore and Keshab Chandra Sen—were influenced most deeply by the Qur’ān, the Upaniṣads and the Bible respectively; the first adhered more to an impersonal Absolute, however, than to a personal God, which the second advocated, and the third introduced many Christian conceptions in the relation of God to man. Brāhmaism to-day, however, is, like the Prārthanā Samāj built on its model, more Hindu than anything else in its philosophy of life and religious nomenclature. The return

<sup>140</sup> See Farquhar, *op. cit.*, p. 120 f.

to Paurāṇic religion was inaugurated by Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahansa in the characteristic Bengali way by worshipping Kālī, as Ram Prasad Sen had done before him.<sup>141</sup> But Vaiṣṇavism, which has by its past history proved itself to be most capable of development in a theistic direction, is coming to its own not only in the worship of the great charioteer of Arjuna (whence Kṛṣṇa as the discourses of the Gītā is called Pārthasārathi) in Hindu Missions, which are working among outcasts, apostates, hill-tribes and people of alien faiths, but also in an increased appreciation of the message of the Gītā by eminent thinkers like Tilak, Arabinda Ghosh and Gandhi. Thus the Vedas, the Upaniṣads and the Purāṇas have all been revived in Modern India in search of an indigenous monotheism, and contemporary political events have added patriotic zeal to religious revivals. Unattractive social features which cramped missionary activities in the past are being ignored or abolished, and Hinduism is fast becoming a Church militant with fresh ambitions for a career of conquest.<sup>142</sup> This is indirectly helping the religion itself, for aggression to-day is possible only for those who are best protected. Hinduism in its orthodox form is linked up with idolatry: we shall study this aspect of Hinduism in a subsequent chapter. It remains to be seen how Hinduism transforms itself to resist the onslaught of alien faiths and to win fresh converts among the cultured nations of the world. To a world suffering from national rivalries, political struggles and luxurious modes of living the Hindu message of non-injury, toleration, peace and renunciation as the highest ideals of religious life may yet prove a soothing salve. On the other hand, to those in Hindu India who choose to follow the western ideals of strife the cult of Kālī or the Kṛṣṇa who incited Arjuna to violence

<sup>141</sup> Keshab Chandra Sen apparently got his concept of God as Mother from association with Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahansa.—See Farquhar, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

<sup>142</sup> See, for instance, *Hinduism invades America* by Thomas Wendell. Attempts have also been made to preach Hinduism in Europe and will possibly be made to get into touch with the still extant old Hindu colonies of the Far East (including Bali and other islands of the Indian archipelago). Indian emigration to different parts of the world is also helping to spread Hinduism abroad.

See the writer's article on *Our Changing Social Relations* in the *Dacca University Journal*, 1936.

may prove immensely attractive, to the infinite woe of humanity at large. Signs are not wanting that even latent atheism and scepticism, which are such abiding features of Hindu philosophic thought all through its history,<sup>143</sup> are rearing their heads in the trail of material ambition and political struggle. The future religion of Hindu India is thus shrouded in obscurity and will undoubtedly be shaped materially by world forces and inter-communal relations. In the meantime small bands of enthusiastic disciples are gathering as of old round devotional minds for inspirational talks and religious discourses and deification of these local saints is going on as usual all around. Never before was such a conscious attempt made to explain, understand and appreciate the eternal verities of Hindu religious thought or to put the social structure in a satisfactory order. The neo-Vedāntic movement with its message of equality and fraternity is rapidly pervading Hindu society and there is a definite tendency now to equate the service of God with the service of the socially depressed, the poor and the fallen. The preacher Vivekānanda, the poet Rabindranath and the political saint Gandhi have chosen as their ideal of divine service ministration to the needs of the poor and the down-trodden and sent forth a message of social sympathy which is being widely responded to and carried out in practice. To the negative prescription of non-injury has been added the positive prescription of active helpfulness as a mode of fulfilling religious obligations. What stood so long in the way of practical charity of this kind is the characteristic Hindu way of dissociating philosophy from social life. We may hope that as the messages of purified Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Vedānta are more intimately followed, Hinduism will not only evolve on purer lines of speculation and worship but also usher in fuller appreciation of the brotherhood of man through the common fatherhood of God or through the ultimate identity of all finite spirits in and through Brahman.

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<sup>143</sup> See the writer's article on *The Polite Atheism of Indian Philosophy* in the *Dacca University Studies*, Vol. I.

## CHAPTER VI

### GOD IN JUDAISM

It may be admitted without any discussion that when earlier and later beliefs jostle with one another in the scriptures of any particular religion, often to the confusion and dismay of its adherents, the reason is to be found in the almost universal disinclination to tamper with a sacred text. It is not in every religion that an 'Uthmān edits the sacred literature with the motive of enforcing uniformity of belief and preventing future dissension, or wields the authority to impose a standard version upon the entire religious community. Attempts made in India to codify socio-religious practices ended in the setting up of regional compendia (*nibandhas*) sanctioning conflicting customs and practices and adding to the vast extant basic religious literature of the country. The puerilities, errors and contradictions to be found in most, if not all, religious literatures—especially in those that have had a long and varied history—provide a happy hunting ground to students of ethnology, anthropology, psychology, ethics, social history and comparative religion. From the side of the religions concerned, however, they represent successive or separate speculations, some lofty and others lowly, to conceive or construct the essentials of faith and practice in keeping with the intellectual ability, the ethical stature or the regional or contemporary necessities of their adherents. Not unoften they are due to the influence of contiguous alien faiths with which some sort of rapprochement seems desirable either to fill up an existing lacuna, or to cultivate social concord, or to facilitate the ready acceptance of those religions by fresh social groups. It is not always that the victors have suppressed,

supplanted or modified the faiths of the vanquished. History is replete with instances where the vanquished have immensely influenced the religious beliefs of the conquerors, and this is true not only in cases of cultural conquest but also in those of political domination. In state religions such absorptions have sometimes been deliberately and officially made ; but where religion is only a social institution the changes are generally gradual and unconscious and must be deemed to satisfy a social need, sane or morbid, or at least a social craze for novelty. The composition of the group very often determines the direction in which the unconscious changes take place, namely, whether towards evolution or towards degeneration ; and by ' composition ' is to be understood not merely the strength of number but also the strength of conviction that the group possesses. The informed reader will readily remember the expansion and modification of Judaism, Islām, Hinduism, Buddhism and Christianity in different fashions in different regions in past and present times.

It is not possible to indicate a single source of religious development and all causes do not operate at the same time. By far the most potent and abiding cause, however, is the rational and ethical faculty of man which cannot rest permanently satisfied with the latent contradictions of a creed or the antisocial implications of a baneful religious practice. It is indeed true that very often in a backward race the quickening of theoretical and practical reason has to be achieved by painful and persistent effort, if not by active interference from without ; but once the social quickening does come, it is impossible to stem the tide of progress, even though occasional retardations, due to the imitation of lower ideals or to momentary weakness of the social mind in times of crisis, are not unknown in religious history. Men may grow to the stature of great ideals—that is the hope and justification of missionary activity among backward races ; but those who are engaged in the actual task of conversion know it only too well how comparatively easy it is to secure external conformity and how difficult it is to make

the higher religion a living faith. The religion a man professes provides, in fact, the nucleus round which his whole life crystallises and the entire system of his thoughts and actions is organised. We have already remarked that intellectual culture and a deepened moral sense, howsoever acquired, deeply affect man's religious ideas just as, conversely, a developed religious consciousness has profound effects upon man's ethical ideas. In delineating the historical development of certain Indian religious systems we have indicated how man's conception of the nature and function of God is profoundly modified by subjective needs of the head and the heart and how when old practices are continued they are invested with a nobler spiritual significance. As Reinach pertinently remarks:<sup>1</sup> "The Deity is inaccessible to man; but at the various epochs traversed by civilisation, humanity has made God in its own likeness, and the gradual idealisation of this image is an essential part of the history of humanity itself."

It will be our task now to show that every living religion has been obliged to have recourse to some or other of these expedients to escape annihilation and that the course of development has always lain in the direction of a fuller recognition of the unity and ubiquity of God and of the brotherhood of men with its implications of social concord and social service. It is evident that unequal emphasis will be laid on these two aspects by different religions according as they were originally defective on the side of duty or on the side of devotion. The Hebrew religion with its well-developed conception of a tribal or national God required development on the aspect of social duty and intercommunal sympathy, while Buddhism with its elaborate ethical code required the complementary development on the aspect of religious devotion. Even where provision already exists for meeting both the demands, philosophical speculation and practical need may show the inadequacy of the existing concepts of deity and duty alike and lead to a more

<sup>1</sup> S. Reinach, *Orpheus*, p. 165.

comprehensive grasp of the nature of God and His relation to the world and of the domain of social obligations.

As Judaism furnishes a most instructive parallel to Hinduism, which we have already studied, we shall begin our exposition with that religion. There are obvious difficulties in comparing two creeds one of which has remained almost ethnic to the end among a people singularly inartistic in character while the other has developed on divergent lines of speculation and myth and did not remain an exclusive possession of a particular nation or tribe. The difficulties are increased by the fact that the Hebrew nation did not treat its scriptures consistently with the same reverence as the Hindus did, with the effect that later beliefs and traditions were more than once pushed up to the beginning of things.<sup>2</sup> Biblical scholars are now agreed that the Pentateuch in its present form is a synthesis of at least four different schools of thought<sup>3</sup>—the Yahwist, the Elohist, the Deuteronomist and the Priestly; that although manifest repetitions and contradictions and abrupt changes in matter and style serve to reveal the composite character of the collection in some places, it is not always easy to allocate to each tradition its share in the whole; and that here and there are evidences of much more ancient materials being embedded in the documents of Hebrew religious thought. But, in spite of the dovetailing of different traditions, the Old Testament contains sufficient indications, on the surface, of the tampering of earlier texts by later beliefs. Besides, the different books belonging to different ages present divergent pictures of the national God: in fact, the differences are sometimes as great as those in Hinduism between the Upaniṣads and the Purāṇas regarding the nature and function of God.

A close examination of the books of the Bible as also of the archæological remains in the Canaanite home of the

<sup>2</sup> See W. Robertson Smith, *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, Lect. XIII. The Narrative of the Hexateuch (p. 388f).

<sup>3</sup> Lods, *Israel*, p. 10f.; Bettany, *Judaism and Christianity*, p. 2f; *Hexateuch* (Vol. 2, p. 363) calls them the Covenant Code, the Deuteronomic and the Priestly (see also p. 365).

Jews has disposed once for all of a pre-Mosaic monotheism in which Renan and the pan-Babylonist school of Winckler fondly believed.<sup>4</sup> Neither the Semitic tribes as a whole nor the nomadic tribes in general nor the Israelites in particular were free at all times from the taint of animism and polytheism; and among the Semites, as among other primitive races, monotheism has been won by hard thinking and unremitting zeal. As Lods remarks,<sup>5</sup> "There is one fact which puts out of court the theory of a pre-Jahwistic Hebrew monotheism, in whatever form it may be advanced. It is that the Israelites, when they emerge into the full light of history and up to the time of the great prophets, although Jahwists, were not monotheists. They worshipped only one national god, Jahweh; but they believed in the existence and power of other gods: they were monolaters. But monolatry is a form of polytheism. Israel only attained to monotheism in the eighth century and to a clear and conscious monotheism only in the sixth, and that by a slow process of internal development whose stages we can trace." By collecting the traces of ancient thought and practice in Israelite institutions and beliefs of the better documented periods and by comparing these with the beliefs and customs of nomadic Semites—of pre-Islamic Arabs and Bedouins of to-day, Lods has proposed the following reconstruction of pre-Mosaic Hebrew beliefs. Like all primitive peoples the Hebrews were given to magic and believed in the efficacy of certain practices and objects in controlling "invisible powers, gods, demons, spirits, the souls of things." They regarded the dead with religious awe, invested them with divine character and worshipped their dead ancestors with libations on a *maṣṣebah* or a stele set up near the tomb.<sup>6</sup> They also worshipped a great number of trees, springs and rivers, caves and mountains. The sun, the moon and the stars were supposed to play an impor-

<sup>4</sup> Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 253, Appendix. (But see Sir Charles Marston, *The New Knowledge about the Old Testament*, Ch. III, for the opposite view; also p. 142.)

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, p. 257.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, p. 228.



tant part in men's lives.<sup>7</sup> Demons too were believed in as also possession by them. A belief in some god being the ancestor of a particular tribe or clan was present and even a physical relationship was often conceived. Nay, even "the constituent elements of the totemic system" were also present.<sup>8</sup> There was at first no clear differentiation between the various supernatural powers, which were often impersonally conceived; but latterly polydemonism moved towards polytheism and different gods even came to be regarded as "fathers" of different human groups and therefore as persons. It is doubtful, however, if there was any hierarchy of the gods, but it is very likely that Yahweh, the god of Sinai, had assumed sufficient personality before Moses made him the god of the Hebrew tribes as a whole. As compared with this name, the other three names of the Hebrew God,<sup>9</sup> viz. *Elohim* (deity), *El Shaddai* (almighty god?), *El Elyon* (God Most High) are definitely less personal.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 249. (See also Sir Charles Marston, *op. cit.*, p. 37; Cheyne, *Traditions and Beliefs of Ancient Israel*, p. xv.)

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 210.

<sup>10</sup> See D'Alviella, *Origin and Growth of the Conception of God*, p. 149 f., where a similar impersonal sense is ascribed to the gods of the Western Semites (Baal, Adon, Moloch or Melek, El, etc.).

Many of the magical practices, the beliefs relating to the contagious nature of holiness and uncleanness, and to the way in which the influence of the dead could attach itself to clothing and hair, show how far, at a certain period, supernatural powers were conceived as a fluid, as an impersonal force.

According to certain critics, the very ancient term which is found in all Semitic languages to express the idea of "god" under the various forms of 'el (Hebrew), *ilu* (Babylonian), *ilah* (Arab) originally denoted the vague force which is the source of all strength and life, the divine rather than a god or a divine personality: it would have had a meaning similar to that of the term *mana* among the Polynesians, the Indian *brahman*, and the Latin *numen*.—Lods, *Israel*, p. 250.

It would also seem that the simplest explanation of the very peculiar use of the plural *elohim* to denote a god lies in this early lack of differentiation between the various supernatural powers. In Hebrew, the word *elohim*, literally meaning *gods*, in the plural, may be used to denote either several divine beings, or in speaking of a single god or goddess. And even when it has a singular meaning it may be construed with plural adjectives and verbs. The Phœnicians used the plural *elim* in the same way, while the Babylonians also applied the plural *ilani* to a single god.....Doubtless, the worshipper, uncertain whether, in any particular place, he had to do with one or several supernatural beings, used the expression *elohim*, in the indeterminate sense of "the divine powers."—*Ibid.*



ing to the term later on in conformity with contemporaneous religious ideas. Speaking of Moses' contribution, Lods remarks, "The true origin of his work must be sought in his remarkable conviction that his God was almighty and paramount, that he would deliver the Hebrews and make them his people." We may very well suppose that on embracing the creed of Yahweh the Israelites took the Kenite "mark of Yahweh" on their hand and their forehead<sup>14</sup> and that circumcision replaced later on this branding of the flesh.<sup>15</sup> It is almost certain that this device of warding off dangers from invisible powers was replaced also by phylacteries, or leather cases containing passages of the scriptures, which pious Jews of later times fastened at those places.<sup>16</sup>

Certain persistent traditions in connection with the cult of Yahweh can be safely utilised to gather together the factors that went to form this particular God-idea.<sup>17</sup> Thus Yahweh is said to have promised to Abraham in Haran that He would make of him "a great nation;" and this promise is repeated and observed over and over again in the Old Testament, so that there can be no doubt that Yahweh is "a god of increase, of generation, of populousness, of fertility." He was prayed to, by or on behalf of barren women, for children—Sarah, Rebekah, Leah, Manoah's wife, Hannah, all

<sup>14</sup> Exod. 13.16. See Lods, *op. cit.*, pp. 324-5; Marti, *Religion of the Old Testament*, p. 60f. ERE. vi. 254, states that the Kenite derivation is more than dubious.

<sup>15</sup> Three explanations of the origin of circumcision in Israel will be found in Ex. iv. 24-6 (Yahwist); Joshua v. 2-3, 8-9 (Elohists); Gen. xxxiv (Priestly). See also Gen. 17.10-4. The practice was not confined to the Israelites alone, for the Egyptians, Arabs, Phoenicians, Edomites, Ammonites and Moabites all practised it, the only exception being the Philistines. See Cheyne, *op. cit.*, pp. 532-6.

Originally the custom was a social rite without religious significance and it was only "during the exile, when the Jews came into close contact with peoples like the Babylonians and Persians, who did not practise the rite, that circumcision took on in the eyes of the Israelites the character of a symbol of nationality and religion." "Then it was that circumcision became the sign of the covenant between Jahweh and his people (Gen. xvii—Second Priestly) and was required of all, stranger or slave, who partook of the Passover (Exod. xii. 44, 47-9)."---Lods, *Israel*, p. 198f.

<sup>16</sup> Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 325. These phylacteries are still used by pious Jews.

<sup>17</sup> See Grant Allen, *The Evolution of the Idea of God*, Chaps. IX and X. Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 456f.

conceived by Yahweh's grace. As among the Hindus, barrenness was a curse among the Hebrews and they therefore permitted not only the remarriage of widows but also levirate and adoption.<sup>18</sup> As the lord of fertility and population, Yahweh could very well claim the first fruits of the field and the flock and also the first-born of men as His share.<sup>19</sup> At least three national festivals were held in connection with the harvest<sup>20</sup>—the Passover which was a "harvest thanksgiving" after barley-harvest, the Pentecost or the Feast of Weeks when the wheat had been completely gathered in, and the Feast of Tabernacles or of Ingathering after the whole of the yearly crop had been collected and the vintage prepared. "Young trees were not to be cropped till three years had passed: in the fourth year the fruit was offered to Jehovah, and only afterwards did it come into use by man."<sup>21</sup> Firstlings were sacrificed to Yahweh. The first-born sons, "in later stages at least, were either made over as Nazirites or redeemed with an offering or a money-ransom."<sup>22</sup> The

<sup>18</sup> Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

<sup>19</sup> It has been suggested by Grant Allen that circumcision was probably practised at first on the first-born alone and then extended to all Jews.—G. Allen, *op. cit.*, Ch. X. See *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. III, p. 452.

It is not unlikely that Yahweh as the god of fertility belongs to the sphere of rural life in Canaan and represents the second stage only, the first being that of a god of the desert.

<sup>20</sup> Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 435; Marti, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

As the connection of these festivals with country life was gradually forgotten, the agricultural feasts were transformed into memorials of historical occurrences. The Passover, which had originally an entirely different signification, and the Feast of Mazzoth, the religious celebration of the beginning of harvest, became the historical anniversaries of the Exodus. Later, the Feast of Weeks was interpreted as the memorial celebration of the giving of the law on Mount Sinai—so we learn from sources outside the O.T.—while the Feast of Tabernacles, which had likewise been at first simply a harvest festival, was brought into connection with the dwelling in booths during the journeyings in the wilderness.—Marti, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-4. See also ERE. v. 864-5; Cheyne, *op. cit.*, p. 548.

The Passover is really a combination of two different festivals, namely, (1) the old Passover of the nomads, a spring festival in which the new-born animals of the year were sacrificed, and (2) the festival of the peasants at the beginning of the barley-harvest.

<sup>21</sup> Bettany, *op. cit.*, p. 45. Lev. 19. 9-10, 23-5; 23.22; Deut. 24. 19-22. The practice was Canaanite and meant to palliate the spirit of the field, the vine or the tree.—Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 402.

<sup>22</sup> Exod. 13.12-15.

legend of Moses and Zipporah, where circumcision is regarded as having been instituted as a substitute offering for a child, shows, however, that the dangerous logical practice of the sacrifice of the first-born, as was re-instituted later on by Ahaz and Manasseh, was not merely theoretically held but, as recent excavations reveal, was actually in vogue among the Hebrews as among the Canaanites,<sup>23</sup> thus fulfilling to the letter the divine injunction that on the eighth day "Thou shalt give to me the first-born of thy sons" (Ex. xxii. 29-30).

Closely related to this aspect are two other facts connected with the worship of Yahweh. It is difficult to explain how and why Yahweh came to be worshipped as a bull of gold in Dan and Bethel. Theriomorphism was rampant in Egypt where the ancestors of the Hebrews had sojourned long, and in Canaan itself Adad (or Hadad), a storm-god like Yahweh himself, had the bull as his sacred animal.<sup>24</sup> It is not unlikely that this universal symbol of virility was felt to be most congruous with the god of fertility which Yahweh was, and it is not till we come to the age of Hosea<sup>25</sup> that this mode of worship was publicly denounced. Yahweh was sometimes called a young bull and his temples were also decorated with bull-images.<sup>26</sup> The institution of circumcision and the practice of sacred prostitution in connection with the cult of Yahweh also bring out the prominence of the fertility-idea. The other fact is the prominent association of Yahweh with sacred stones. Grant Allen premises<sup>27</sup> "that the worship of the Baalim (gods), within and without

<sup>23</sup> Lods, *op. cit.*, pp. 89, 285-6, 292-4. (On p. 294 Lods's own theory on the subject would be found.) The practice of circumcision on the eighth day (Gen. 17.12) may be a reminiscence of the injunction to sacrifice the first-born on the eighth day to Yahweh. 1 Kings 16.34 is a fulfilment of Josh. 6.26 and does not probably refer to any human sacrifice.

<sup>24</sup> Lods, *op. cit.*, pp. 407, 459. For Egyptian influence, see p. 264 *infra*, f.n. 51.

<sup>25</sup> See *Dic. Bi.*, Vol. II, p. 423 (art. HOSEA).

<sup>26</sup> Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 459; also Grant Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-2, where it is suggested that this symbol was transferred to Yahweh from some other god like Molech or that it was due to sacrifice of bulls to Yahweh. See 1 Kings 7.25, 29, 44; in Num. 23.22 and 24.8; buffalo horns are possibly ascribed to Yahweh (Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 458).

<sup>27</sup> Grant Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

Israel, was specially directed to upright conical stones, the most sacred objects at all sanctuaries: and that these stones are generally admitted to have possessed for their worshippers a phallic significance." He hints at the possibility of a similar stone-pillar being the original content of the ark or chest in which Yahweh was supposed to possess his earthly seat and of the slabs of Ten Words (Commandments) being a priestly invention or a later substitute.<sup>28</sup> The association of upright stones (*maššebah*) and wooden posts (*asherah*)<sup>29</sup> in the worship of Yahweh may also be referred to in this connection: they may have provided not merely visible symbols of the deity but also his original phallic significance.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> As the contents of the Ark were not allowed to be looked into, there is no exact description of them. It has been suggested that it probably contained "a meteorite stone, which, as it fell from heaven, was regarded as the abode of Jehovah." For other theories, see Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 425f; Marti, *op. cit.*, p. 44, 69; Dic. Bi., Extra Vol., pp. 623-9; see also Grant Allen, *The Evolution of the Idea of God* (Thinker's Library Ed.), pp. 137, 139; Cheyne, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-5. It is not improbable that the Ark itself was made in commemoration of the Ark of Noah, the first prophet whom God favoured and saved and who was the mythical progenitor of the Semitic races through one of his sons. The infant Moses also floated in an ark before being rescued (see Gen. ii. 3-5).

<sup>29</sup> Grant Allen thinks (*op. cit.*, p. 58) that both these were originally associated with burial—the wooden stake marking the grave and the standing stone serving as the tombstone. Of their further development he writes: "The wooden stake seems to form the origin or point of departure for the carved wooden image, as well as for such ruder objects of reverence as the cones and wooden pillars so widely revered among the Semitic tribes; while the rough boulder, standing stone, or tombstone, seems to form the origin or point of departure for the stone or marble statue, the commonest type of idol the whole world over in all advanced and cultivated communities."

<sup>30</sup> See J. P. Peters, *Early Hebrew Story*, p. 181f. The following quotation is instructive (pp. 182-3): "There is a survival of this sexual cult in another form in the oath which Abraham exacted of his servant, with his hand upon his genitals (Gen. xxiv. 2). The thought behind this is, after all, the same in principle as the thought which originally connected itself with those pillars (*mazzebah*) which are so frequently mentioned in Genesis, and which formed an integral part of the Yahweh cult itself, in the conception of the best minds in Israel, as late as the time of Isaiah. Both the pillars and the oath suggest the meaning which originally attached to such a cult, expressing itself by worship offered to a stone of phallic shape, the use of phallic symbols as oblations, the oath by the organs of reproduction, and finally in prostitution itself as a ritual act." Lods, however, points out (*op. cit.*, p. 262) that as the pillars set up by the Semites might equally represent *goddesses*, the phallic significance could not have been universal. (See also p. 259 for the discussion on sacred stones.)

A second stream of thought that possibly entered into the composition of the Yahweh-idea was ancestor-worship and, in a country where the dead were buried and not cremated,<sup>31</sup> also the cult of tomb-stones. Although the oldest Hebrew belief was vague about the future state of the departed, the cult of the *manes* was fairly universal and the *teraphim*, sometimes of human form and size,<sup>32</sup> could be found in all households; food was offered to them as to household gods or departed ancestors at stated intervals; and "they were consulted on all occasions of doubt or difficulty by a domestic priest clad in an ephod."<sup>33</sup> It would be unusual in such a community not to possess monumental stones associated with this or that tribal ancestor, and, as a matter of fact, we find that, by the side of sacred trees, there were such stones as the altar of Abraham, the altar of Jacob, the memorial of Joshua and the altar or stone-pillar of Isaac.<sup>34</sup> One writer<sup>35</sup> observes: "Since we find the graves of the ancestors of Israel situated on mountains, or connected with places where there stood either a tree or a stone, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion to which we are led by many other considerations that the pre-Jehovistic worship was that of ancestors." In fact, all the four varieties of early tomb-stones, namely, the standing stone (*menhir*), the stone-table (*dolmen*), the stone-heap (*cairn*) and the stone circle (*cromlech*), could be found in Jewish religion: "the *menhir* is 'the pillar' of our Authorised Version of the Old Testament; the *dolmen* is the 'altar'; the *cairn* is the 'heap'; and the stone circle appears under the names Gilgal and Hazor."<sup>36</sup> A shaped stone, the mark of a ghost or god, was

<sup>31</sup> The pre-Semitic inhabitants of Canaan used to burn their dead as excavations at Gezer show.—Peters, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

<sup>32</sup> But see *Dic. Bi.*, Vol. II, p. 200.

<sup>33</sup> Grant Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 126. Hosea seems to have considered the *teraphim* as indispensable in worship (Hos. 3.4).

<sup>34</sup> Grant Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 129. Tombs of ancestors and heroes often appear as places of worship, e.g., the grave of Miriam at Kadesh.—Marti, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

<sup>35</sup> Rev. A. W. Oxford in *Religious Systems of the World*, p. 56.

<sup>36</sup> Grant Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 68; see also art. GILGAL in *Dic. Bi.*, Vol. II, pp. 176-7. It is interesting to note that trees as well as these different kinds of stones were worshipped also in the Aegean religion.—See ERE. i.143.

known among the Hebrews as a Beth-el or "abode of deity."<sup>37</sup> Grant Allen throws out the suggestion, which he himself calls purely hypothetical, that just as 'cones with pyramidal heads, bearing inscriptions to the deceased, were used by the Phoenicians for interments,' so also 'the original Jahweh may have been such an ancient pillar, covered with writings of some earlier character, which were interpreted later as the equivalents or symbols of the "Ten Words" or, in other words, the conical stone pillar was 'the grave stone of some deified ancestor: and of this ancestor "Jahweh" was perhaps either the proper name or a descriptive epithet.'<sup>38</sup> If Moses is represented as setting up twelve stone-pillars<sup>39</sup> and an altar to Yahweh after receiving the revelations at Sinai,<sup>40</sup> it may be assumed that the former were meant to represent the twelve tribes of Israel—a kind of tribal memorial round the stone seat of the deified ancestor of the tribes. Obviously keeping in mind the various modes which the worship

<sup>37</sup> Grant Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 128. "Holy stones existed at Bethel (Gen. xxviii.18; xxxv.14), Ophrah (Judges vi.20), Zion (2 Sam. xxiv.16), Shechem (Josh. xxiv.26), Gilead (Gen. xxxi.45), Gilgal (Josh. iv) and other places" (*Rel. Syst. of the World*, p. 55). "If he (the Israelite) desired to know why there were specially sacred holy places in certain localities, such as Shechem, Bethel, Hebron, Beersheba, Penuel or Mahanaim, tradition replied that it was because in this particular spot, under the shade of this tree, beside this spring, at this sacred stone, Jahweh appeared to one of the ancestors of Israel in a dream (Bethel), in bodily form (Hebron, Penuel), by a verbal communication (Lahai Roi), by a miracle (at the waters of Kadesh)."—Lods, *Israel*, p. 156. See, in this connection, J. P. Peters, *Early Hebrew Story*, Lect. IV. *Survivals—Legendary and Mythical*; also Lods, *op. cit.*, pp. 261, 266. It is interesting to note that "the Jewish settlers at Elephantine, who still preserved in the fifth century (B.C.) many of the ancient customs of pre-exilic times, assigned to Jahweh a female consort, whom they called indifferently Anath-Jahu or Anath-Bethel" (*Leite, Israel*, p. 124; see also p. 135). See also *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, Vol. III. p. 470; Cheyne, *op. cit.*, p. xvi.



of Yahweh assumed in later times, Grant Allen traces the following interesting development from ancestor worship to nature worship :<sup>41</sup>

“ In the first place, we must recollect that while in Egypt, with its dry and peculiarly preservative climate, mummies, idols, tombs and temples might be kept unchanged and undestroyed for ages, in almost all other countries rain, wind, and time are mighty levellers of human handicraft. Thus, while in Egypt the cult of the Dead Ancestor survives as such quite confessedly and openly for many centuries, in most other countries the tendency is for the actual personal objects of worship to be more and more forgotten; vague gods and spirits usurp by degrees the place of the historic man; rites at last cling rather to sites than to particular persons. The tomb may disappear; and yet the sacred stone may be revered still with the accustomed veneration. The sacred stone may go; and yet the sacred tree may be watered yearly with the blood of victims. The tree itself may die; and yet the stump may continue to be draped on its anniversary with festal apparel. The very stump may decay; and yet gifts of food or offerings of rags may be cast as of old into the sacred spring that once welled beside it. The locality thus grows to be holy in itself, and gives us one clear and obvious source of later nature-worship.”

We have, however, already alluded to the fact that the peculiar theophanies of Yahweh are intimately associated with certain elemental phenomena. Numerous passages can be quoted <sup>42</sup> to prove that Yahweh was sometimes conceived as the storm-god and that every thunder-cloud disclosed his presence. “ Since the sight of Jehovah brought death, the thunder-clouds which concealed him were regarded as friendly spirits; they were called Cherubim.<sup>43</sup> The flashes of lightning, too, were regarded as spirits, and called Seraphim,

<sup>41</sup> Grant Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

<sup>42</sup> For instance, Judges 5.4; 6.21; Ps. 29; Exod. 3.2; 19.16; 1 Kings 8.10; 18.38; Isaiah 6. (See *Religious Systems of the World*, p. 54; *Cam. Anc. His.*, III, p. 430; Cheyne, *op. cit.* p. 30f.).

<sup>43</sup> Ps. 18.10; 1 Kings 6.28. See ERE. vi. 254 where the storm-derivation is regarded as merely conjectural.

probably from an old idea that they were snakes."<sup>44</sup> Probably because clouds so frequently rested on mountains, Yahweh was supposed to have his seat on mountains,<sup>45</sup> and hence when the Israelites occupied Canaan, the high places where the Canaanite gods (*baals*) used to be worshipped could very easily be converted into sanctuaries of Yahweh. In fact, this mountain abode was such a persistent association among the Hebrews (who probably imitated in this respect the Babylonians whose great temples were modelled on mountain sanctuaries and had *ziggurats* or peaks at the top) that in their temples a dark chamber on the summit of an artificial mountain (in imitation of a cloud-capped peak) was reserved for God and offerings were made at the foot of this artificial mountain.<sup>46</sup> But as the mountain where Yahweh first manifested himself to Moses, namely, Mount Sinai, was probably a volcano, the features of that mount attached themselves to Yahweh—possibly this association was even pre-Mosaic.<sup>47</sup> To quote Lods:<sup>48</sup> "The story was told that, like the volcano, Jahweh had appeared to the Israelites in the wilderness under the form of a pillar of fire by night and a pillar of cloud by day. He had revealed himself to Abraham as a blazing torch and a smoking furnace (Gen. xv. 17). The temple was filled with smoke when the ark was brought into it in the time of Solomon (1 Kings viii. 10-11) and when Isaiah received the vision there which called him to the prophetic office (Isa. vi. 4). Thunder was the voice of Jahweh. Poets described the march of Jahweh shrouded in dark clouds, discharging hail-stones and coals of fire. The God of Sinai appeared to Moses "in a flame in the midst of a bush." "The glory of Jahweh" was a divine fire of dazzling brightness flashing at intervals from the storm-cloud which concealed it; sometimes this fire seems to have been thought of as surrounding sometimes as constituting the body of the deity. The chariots and horses of the heavenly host are of fire." When

<sup>44</sup> Isa. 6.6 (*cf.* Ahi Budhnya of the Rigveda). See 2 Kings 18.4.

<sup>45</sup> Gen. 22.14; Num. 23.3; Deut. 33.19; 2 Sam. 15.32; 1 Kings 20.23.

<sup>46</sup> Peters, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-3.

<sup>47</sup> See Exod. 19.18-9. See Cheyne, *op. cit.*, p. 563.

<sup>48</sup> Lods, *op. cit.*, pp. 7.

Yahweh was invoked to consume the offering of calf on the altar, he came down as a lightning and burnt up the sacrifice and he sent down fire from above to consume Ahaziah's 'captain of fifty with his fifty' at Elijah's invocation.<sup>49</sup> When he wanted to punish sinners he sent down fire and brimstone.

But there were other natural associations too. The recent discovery of the Laws of Hammurabi and the general resemblance of the Jewish laws with these laws of Babylon raise a very strong suspicion that "Palestine was a descendant of Babylonia, not in the literal sense of descent of blood, but in the equally real sense of descent of thought, religion and civilisation."<sup>50</sup> Sandwiched between the two imperial powers of Egypt and Babylon, which possessed advanced civilisations of their own, and politically dominated by these and other superior powers for a long time, the Palestinian civilisation could not avoid either unconscious or deliberate absorption of other cultures. All facts connected with the history of Moses (as of Joseph) point to the infiltration of the culture of the west,<sup>51</sup> while the eastern culture seems to have come through a mythical ancestor, Abraham.<sup>52</sup> The Judæan tradition connects Abraham with Haran in Mesopotamia and Ur

<sup>49</sup> 1 Kings 18.38; 2 Kings 1.10; Judges 6.21; 13.20.

<sup>50</sup> Peters, *op. cit.*, p. 157. See Lods, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-6; also *the Laws of Hammurabi* (R.P.A. series). Prof. Clay thinks that the greater part of the Code of Hammurabi originated in Aleppo.—See Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 81. Marti thinks that there was no direct borrowing.—See *op. cit.*, p. 12.

<sup>51</sup> Peters shows the similarity between the exposure of Moses on the Nile and that of King Sargon of Babylonia on the Euphrates.—See *op. cit.*, p. 192. Also Marti, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

Marti thinks that the Egyptian influence came during the Canaanite period rather than at the time of the Exodus (*op. cit.*, p. 44). See Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 318 f. (Appendix). The trend of modern opinion is that the Exodus was from North Arabia and not from Egypt. See Cheyne, *op. cit.*, p. xviif.

<sup>52</sup> The distinction between the stories of Moses, Samuel and David and the stories of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob is that in the former the legendary elements are adornments of the tale due to the fancy of the story-teller, his desire to display his knowledge of the times and conditions in which his heroes lived and acted, and his effort to make vivid and real the tale which he tells; in the latter the legend is the essence, the kernel of the story; the character itself is legend.—J. P. Peters, *Early Hebrew Story*, pp. 194-5.

in Babylonia, both of which were famous for their worship of the moon-god Sin. Further association of Abraham with this god is indicated by certain names in the family of Abraham. The sons of Terah are Abraham, Nahor and Haran, the last of which name is the same as that of the Mesopotamian seat of the moon-god. The wives of Nahor and Abraham, again, are Milkah and Sarah, and these are also titles of the goddess associated with Sin at Haran (and possibly also at Ur).<sup>53</sup> Now it is at Sinai, the mountain seat of Sin,<sup>54</sup> that Moses received his revelation, which probably means that Yahweh replaced Sin at that sanctuary; but the fact that the Jews of later times managed to forget even the identity of this cradle of their religion<sup>55</sup> raises the suspicion that the place never became a stronghold of Yahwist worship at any time. Probably the movement of the population further north into lands where other high and holy places were available rendered the retention of the Sinai sanctuary unnecessary—the Bible says, the Israelites were driven away by Yahweh from the foot of Sinai where they had wished to settle (Ex. xxxii. 34; xxxiii. 15). The relation of Sin and Yahweh at Sinai was reflected in Hebrew genealogy where Moses is made a descendant of Abraham,<sup>56</sup> just as independent cycles of legends connected

See, however, Reinach, *Orpheus*, p. 200: "Abraham, Jacob and Joseph, often supposed to have been tribal gods, may have been real persons." See also *Dic. Bi.*, Vol. III, p. 200.

<sup>53</sup> Peters, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-9. See, however, Marti, *op. cit.*, p. 39f; he thinks that Arabia was originally the home of the peoples of the Semitic world (p. 41). For the identification of Haran, see Sir Charles Marston, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-3; Cheyne, *op. cit.*, pp. 211-5.

<sup>54</sup> See *Enc. Br.* (14th Ed.), Vol. 20, p. 703, art. SINAI; *Dic. Bi.*, IV, p. 536, art. SINAI MOUNT; *Century Dictionary and Encyclopaedia*, VI, p. 934. See, however, Cheyne, *op. cit.*, pp. 526-7, also p. 28. The etymology of the word is uncertain; generally it is derived from a word meaning 'thorn-bush.'

See also Sir Charles Marston, *op. cit.*, Ch. XIII. Sinai. He refers to the Temple of Serabit where Hathor was worshipped by the Semites who worked the neighbouring turquoise mines.

<sup>55</sup> Interesting information about the attempts to identify Sinai would be found in Lods, *Israel*, p. 176f. He thinks that the eastern coast of the Gulf of Akabah in Arabia proper (where there is a line of craters, now extinct, but one of which, Harrat al-Nar (crater of fire), near Medina, is attested to have been active during the historical period) is probably the location of Sinai.

<sup>56</sup> For Israelite holy places associated with Abraham—Hebron, Beersheba,

with Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Joseph were unified through a similar genealogical succession.<sup>57</sup> Other associations with the cult of heavenly bodies are not locally absent. Jericho, Laban (Jacob's father-in-law) and the Lebanon mountains all carry the moon-association, while the cult of Shamash, the sun-god of Babylonia, lingers in such names as Samson, Bethshemesh, etc., and in the practice of setting up pillars to Yahweh as to Shamash. Although rarely, Yahweh is represented by the winged disk,<sup>58</sup> symbolising the Sun; and the monoliths which more frequently stand for Yahweh have been regarded also as representing the solar rays.<sup>59</sup> The sabbath and the newmoon were taken over from the Babylonian cult of the heavenly bodies and attached to Yahweh,<sup>60</sup> which explains the hostility of the prophets to these heathen institutions. The horned altars of Yahweh, if not derived from a bull, were probably taken from the crescent moon. There is no doubt that the temptation to find room for the solar cult within Yahwism persisted as an undercurrent and the influence of Babylonia and Assyria could not be entirely stemmed. Ahaz and Manasseh only systematised the worship of the heavenly bodies, and horses and chariots were given to the Sun at the entrance of the temple of Yahweh himself by the kings of Judah. The facility with which the cult of the various Baalim was absorbed must be due to the same reason, for a Baal represented not only the generative principle in nature (as Ashtoreth the productive principle) but also the Sun-god

Bethel and Shechem, see Peters, *op. cit.*, p. 165. Jacob was associated with the last three as also with Mahanaim, Penuel (or Peniel), Gilead and Mizpah. Isaac was associated with Beersheba and Joseph with Shechem.—*Ibid.*, p. 137.

<sup>57</sup> Peters, *op. cit.*, Lect. III. The Patriarchs and the Shrines of Israel (esp. pp. 114 and 126). In later times there was a regular worship of the Moon (Ishtar, the queen of heaven) by the women specially (see Jer. 7.18; 44.17-9, 25).

<sup>58</sup> Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 459. See *Dic. Bi.*, Vol. II, p. 429 f.n. (under art. THE HOST OF HEAVEN); also *Cam. Anc. His.*, III, pp. 428, 431. Josiah broke down the sun-images above the altars of the Baalim (2 Chr. 34.4-6). See ERE. vii. 488, art. MASSEBHAH (astronomical association).

<sup>59</sup> Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 237 for association with the sun, the moon and the stars in pre-Mosaic belief.

<sup>60</sup> Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 438f.

"In Babylonian the corresponding word 'sapathu' (sabbathu) denotes not the seventh day but the full moon. The weekly festival of the Sabbath only arose, therefore, by an artificial transmutation of the festival of the full moon,

dike Adad and Rimmon).<sup>41</sup> The cult of the heavenly bodies could be conquered only when Yahweh came to be called the Lord of the Host, when the stars came to be regarded as "the visible image, or counterpart, of the host, or army, of angels, by which Jahweh was conceived to be surrounded,"<sup>42</sup> and when even the prophets of Israel were considered to be able to make the sun stand still.<sup>43</sup> The iconoclasm of Josiah, who completed the act of religious reform initiated by Hezekiah, saved Israel from this solar cult.

It may at once be admitted, however, that by the time of the Old Testament the phallic, the euhemeristic and the naturalistic associations of Yahweh<sup>44</sup> had been so well dominated by the personal aspect that there was no serious danger about the Israelites forsaking that aspect in favour of the different primitive elements that must have originally entered into the composition of Yahweh. Cook well observes: <sup>45</sup> "Preserved here and there in the Old Testament we have, in fact, the *disjecta membra* of cults which are more reminiscent of the barbarism and mythology of the old Oriental world than of that spiritual idealism and ethical monotheism which distinguish the higher religion of Israel from other religions. How the cult of Yahweh was introduced we do not really know, and the deeper study of the Old Testament in the light of archaeological and other evidence suggests the very important conclusion that an older and cruder Yahwism has disappeared, and an entire chapter is missing between the Amarna age<sup>46</sup> and the rise of the Old Testament." The

which was not peculiar to Israel alone.—Marti, *op. cit.*, p. 15; also p. 85. See EHR., v, 157; also Cheyne, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

<sup>41</sup> See *Cambridge Companion to the Bible* (1893), pp. 162-3; also *Cam. Anc. Hist.*, III, p. 431.

<sup>42</sup> *Dic. Bib.*, Vol. II, p. 430.

<sup>43</sup> *Jos.* 10, 12, 3.

<sup>44</sup> See *Cam. Anc. Hist.*, III, p. 426f (II. The Old Yahwism).

<sup>45</sup> *Cam. Anc. Hist.*, III, pp. 431-2.

<sup>46</sup> The reference is to the correspondence of the princes of Syria and Palestine with their overlords Amenophis (Amenhetep) III and IV (Akhenaten) discovered at Tel el-Amarna. See Sir Charles Maraton, *op. cit.*, Ch. XV. Tel El-Amarna.

same writer points out <sup>67</sup> that in the construction, contents and ritual of the Temple of Jerusalem could be found elements borrowed from surrounding cultures, including those of South Arabia, Crete and Cyprus. Again, Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Babylonian, Hittite and other religions contributed to the evolution of the composite temple-religion of the Israelites, for when they moved into Canaan they could easily come into contact with the cult of the gods of those religions as absorbed by the native population and utilise the necessary elements to start a new temple-cult after old well-established models. In fact, it would not be inappropriate to compare the Hebrew conquest of Palestine with the Aryan invasion of North-west India—both the Hebrews and the Aryans were less advanced in material civilisation than the Canaanites and the Indus-valley people whom they respectively displaced and they could not resist the temptation of mixing or identifying this or that feature of their own religion with similar features of the native cults. One notable absorption in both Palestine and India was serpent-worship, perhaps derived ultimately from Egyptian sources in the one case and from savage tribes in the other. The brazen serpent (probably a Jebusite idol), pushed back to the Mosaic age,<sup>68</sup> became an integral part of the Yahweh cult in the Hebrew religion (as did a goddess Asherah) and disappeared only after Hezekiah's reform, while the serpent found its way into both Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism as indispensable to Viṣṇu's rest on the Ocean of Milk, the churning of the ocean, and the ornamentation of Śiva's body, in addition to being the object of an independent cult (of Manasā) down to the present day.<sup>69</sup> But

<sup>67</sup> See *Cam. Anc. His.*, III, p. 427 (and Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 415) for the probable origin of the ark, the cherubim, the lion, the lions, the molten (brazen) sea, the shewbread, the horned altar, the bronze pillars, the sacred pillars, etc., in the Temple of Jerusalem. (Also Reinach, *Orpheus*, pp. 187, 197; Sir Charles Marston, *op. cit.*, p. 60 f., for an account of the Phœnician Tablets found at Ras Shamra.)

<sup>68</sup> Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 404; J. Yahuda, *Law and Life according to Hebrew Thought*, p. 27.

<sup>69</sup> See Vogel, *Indian Serpent-Lore*, p. 192 f; see p. 202: "Whereas Sesa is closely connected with Viṣṇu, we find Vāsuki associated with Śiva: the Serpent-King is supposed to be slung round that god's neck." Association with Śiva

in Palestine there were other assimilations too. The Canaanites had drawn freely upon the Aegean, the Egyptian, the Babylonian, the Hittite and other surrounding cultures for secular objects and religious symbols<sup>70</sup> and also the Phœnician for their alphabet. Recent excavations have brought out interesting remains of many foreign gods in Palestine of the pre-Israelite age,<sup>71</sup> many of which were possibly used as amulets. Sacred pillars, grottoes (possibly inhabited by a serpent-god), chambers, altars, censers, etc., formed part of the religious equipment,<sup>72</sup> and human sacrifice was practised generally as a foundation-rite. Theriomorphism was present—possibly also totemism.<sup>73</sup> Local divinities were worshipped "on every high hill and under every green tree" under the title of Baal,<sup>74</sup> and inasmuch as they were conceived as persons they often figured as relations.<sup>75</sup> More often these gods were regarded as overlords of their own special cities or tribes, as Milkom of the Ammonites, Chemosh of the Moabites and Baal-zebub of Ekron, although some like Hadad, Shemesh, Gad and Dagon were more widely worshipped.<sup>76</sup> Possibly, Yahweh himself was worshipped in Canaan before the Israelites settled there.<sup>77</sup> There were female deities (Baalath) too, and of these Astarte was the most prominent (and sometime the general designation).<sup>78</sup>

would be more natural if the God had a Sumerian prototype as is claimed by Sir John Marshall in his *Mohenjo Daro*.

<sup>70</sup> See Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 63f. (II. Foreign Relations).

<sup>71</sup> Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 16; p. 157 (Foreign Divinities). See also Marti, *op. cit.*, p. 72f; he thinks that the images of Egyptian gods were worshipped probably by the Egyptian residents of Canaan (p. 79).

<sup>72</sup> See *Cam. Anc. Hist.*, III, p. 447.

<sup>73</sup> For similar beliefs in Judaism after settlement in Palestine, see *Cam. Anc. Hist.*, III, p. 444.

<sup>74</sup> Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 120; Marti, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

<sup>75</sup> Marti thinks that this was due to the extension of the cult of ancestor-worship.—*Op. cit.*, p. 64. See Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

<sup>76</sup> Individual deities stand out from the great mass of demons, and these were plainly imagined to be personal gods, such as Astarte and Baal by the side of Hadad and Aechirat.—Marti, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

<sup>77</sup> Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 132. See Sir Charles Marston, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

<sup>78</sup> Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 132f.

Astarte must have been the object of especial veneration, for many pictures have already been found of this goddess, whereas no single image of Ba'al has



So when the Israelites moved into Canaan they came into a region where polydaemonism and polytheism were the prevailing creed and religious worship centred round the local baals and astartes and was often sanguinary in character.

That the immigrants quickly adopted and then persisted in the worship of many of these baals and astartes can be made out easily from the repeated denunciations of the popular religion by the prophets of Israel.<sup>79</sup> They had possessed only a nomadic cult suited to the austere life of the desert and so when they moved into a region full of fertile low lands, where agriculture was the main occupation, they simply imitated the local inhabitants in the cults connected with their new occupation.<sup>80</sup> In fact, even when they overthrew the worship of the local deities and installed their own Yahweh in their place, the Canaanite cults lingered on and were, therefore, often attacked by the prophets at a later time. Thus the sanctuaries of Yahweh were multiplied and planted where the baals had been worshipped before, much as Christian churches were built on the foundations of pagan temples at a later time, and very often Yahweh himself was supposed to possess different attributes and powers at these different places.<sup>81</sup> "One temple implied one God" and "a local Jehovah was practically a local Baal."<sup>82</sup> It was left to Josiah (and the Deuteronomic Code) to prohibit all sacred places outside Jerusalem and to restore visibly the unity of Yahweh. Thenceforth pilgrimage to these different shrines

been discovered in the soil of Palestine. It is no doubt possible that this may be accounted for by the fact that the Astarte was the goddess of the home and of the increase of the family, whereas the images of Ba'al were not kept in the house, and had therefore disappeared.—Marti, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-3.

<sup>79</sup> Gideon, Jephthah, Samuel, Saul, David, Solomon, Ahab and many such leaders and kings were guilty of religious lapses. (See W. R. Smith, *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, p. 235f.)

<sup>80</sup> Marti, *op. cit.*, p. 104. The nature of Yahweh as originally a storm-god facilitated the transference to him of the functions of the Canaanite gods of agriculture.

<sup>81</sup> Marti, *op. cit.*, p. 105; Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 407; *Rel. Sys. of the World*, pp. 54-5. Cf. Deut. 6.4: "Hear, O Israel, Yahweh, our God, is one Yahweh." This is the Shema which is recited morning and evening as a confession of faith.

<sup>82</sup> *Dic. Bi.*, Vol. III, p. 788, art. JOSIAH; W. R. Smith, *Old Test. in the Jewish Church*, p. 243.

ceased. It is in Canaan, again, that regular national festivals, generally associated with agriculture, were instituted, and, in place of the occasional sacrifices of the nomadic days on an improvised altar of earth or unhewn stone as sacramental communions, there was instituted a regular system of national and private sacrifices, on fixed altars, of first fruits and firstlings, as thanksgiving festivals,<sup>83</sup> and the revolting practices of human sacrifice and sacred prostitution were also introduced. Against these too the classical prophets had to wage relentless campaigns, and although they could not abolish the sacrifices altogether they could invest some of them with an enhanced spiritual meaning. That the nation as a whole did not entirely forget the good old nomad days is evident from the fact that the Rechabites bound themselves to observe all the rules of nomadic life (2 Kings x. 15-16; Jer. xxxv), that the Nazirites abjured, among others, wine, presumably because it was a product of Canaanite vineyards<sup>84</sup> and a favourite libation of the baals, and that the Passover of the nomad days, when probably the first-born of the flock were sacrificed, became the most important national festival.<sup>85</sup>

Lods has given an excellent summary of the effects of the Canaanite contact on the religion of the Israelites.<sup>86</sup> Some of the immigrants forgot their national god altogether and began to worship the baals and the astartes. The majority worshipped the baals and Yahweh simultaneously, for it was felt that Yahweh's seat was in Sinai or Mount Seir and he had no fixed seat in Canaan. Some worshipped Yahweh in days of trouble as the national deliverer while in the days of prosperity they paid their homage to the baals. Idols, such as the

<sup>83</sup> Marti, *op. cit.*, p. 102; Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 290. For the sacrifices mentioned in the Ras Shamra Tablets, see Sir Charles Marston, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

<sup>84</sup> Lods, *op. cit.*, pp. 101, 283, 305f, 410f and also p. 388 (the Kenites). Hosea had to preach that corn, wine and oil all came from Yahweh and not from the baals as the people seemed to think (2.8, 22), thus establishing the claim of Yahweh to be the only giver of all goods. See *Dic. Bi.*, Extra Vol., p. 657 f.

For the Nazirite vow, see Num. vi.

<sup>85</sup> Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 290 f.

<sup>86</sup> Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 403f; see *Cam. Anc. His.*, III, p. 434; *Dic. Bi.*, II, p. 446, art. IDOLATRY; also J. Huxley, *Religion without Revelation*, p. 233f.

brazen serpent and the Asherah, found their way into the temples of Yahweh and even female consorts were found for him. Gradually, however, Yahweh became the sole object of worship; but all the titles and attributes of the baals were transferred to him either because some similarity was established by the Israelites between him and these gods or because the native population gave a place to the god of the immigrants in their own sanctuaries and he later usurped all the sacred spots (high places, springs, trees, stones, etc.), associated with the baals. Readily, some mythical patriarch or other was supposed to have established those sanctuaries as seats of Yahwist worship in remote times or possibly these baals were themselves converted into some remote human ancestors of the Jewish race.<sup>87</sup> Finally, Yahweh became *the* god of the land and Palestine became the land of Yahweh,<sup>88</sup> although the multiplicity of the original Canaanite gods continued to manifest itself in the multiple rites, attributes and powers attached to Yahweh at different places. He himself was frequently called *baal* (lord) and was transformed from a god of nomads to a god of peasants with the local rites and practices transferred to his cult. But there was also some real gain during the Palestinian settlement, for the power of Yahweh was now extended over the whole of Canaan and the Israelites could now have faith in the power and providence of Yahweh wherever they might go and did not have to serve other gods, as was the nomadic custom when people moved into other lands or were outlawed or exiled (1 Sam. xxvi. 19).<sup>89</sup> Yahweh ceased to be conceived regionally and became a truly national god of the Israelites, more powerful than the gods of their neighbours. He confounded the calcula-

<sup>87</sup> Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Joseph, before being presented as founders of certain holy places, had been their gods or "baals": Abraham at Hebron, Isaac at Beersheba, Jacob at Bethel, and perhaps Joseph at Shechem.—Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 161. See D'Alviella, *The Origin and Growth of the Conception of God*, p. 136.

<sup>88</sup> Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 451f.

<sup>89</sup> The principle was later on extended to other gods and the wives of the Israelite princes often brought the statues of the gods of their own country and even had temples built to them (1 Kings 11. 7-8; 16.31-2).

tions of the Syrians under Ben-hadad who had thought that as a god of the hills he would be powerless on the plains (1 Kings xx. 28). In fact, he always led the Israelites in their battles and his ark was carried before the Jewish host as an emblem of his presence in their midst wherever they might go.<sup>90</sup> But the idea very often was that although he could be invoked anywhere, he had his special earthly seat originally in South Palestine and the desert (Deut. xxxiii. 2; Hab. iii. 3) and later on in the temple at Jerusalem (although Solomon himself had his doubts if God could be confined to any earthly seat, including the temple built by him, when "heaven and the heaven of heavens" could not contain him).<sup>91</sup> The compromise between the two views took later on the form of a temple-worship strictly confined to Jerusalem and a less formal worship offered at any place to Yahweh, just as an earlier compromise had permitted the retention of the sanctuaries in high places but cut down the image of the Asherah and destroyed the idols (1 Kings xv. 12-3).<sup>92</sup>

That the exclusive cult of Yahweh could be established only with great difficulty and retained with equal difficulty is evident through every epoch of Jewish history. The original immigrants did not question the right of the different nations and tribes to have gods of their own, and when they protested against their own people worshipping or consulting the oracles of the gods of other people it was not because these gods were "nothings," as the later prophets said, but because it implied scant respect paid to their own god Yahweh: "Is it because there is no God in Israel, that ye go to enquire of Baal-zebub the god of Ekron?" is the question that the angel of Yahweh asked Elijah to put to the mes-

<sup>90</sup> See, for instance, Deut. 23.12-4 where the Israelites are directed to keep their tents clean because God walks in their midst there.

<sup>91</sup> 1 Kings 8.27. See *Cam. Anc. His.*, III, pp. 432-3.

<sup>92</sup> See Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 413. Asa and Hezekiah were responsible for these reforms before Josiah (1 Kings 15.12-3; 2 Kings 18.4, 22): if Hezekiah had also removed "the high places," they apparently grew up again. For Hezekiah's reforms, see *Dic. Bi.*, II, pp. 376, 448.

sengers of Ahaziah, the king of Israel.<sup>93</sup> They took delight in the humiliations that Yahweh inflicted on the gods of other people, *e.g.*, on Dagon, the Canaanite corn-god.<sup>94</sup> The large-hearted tolerance and the universalism of Yahwist worship that could prompt an Isaiah to say,<sup>95</sup> "In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt and with Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth," or a Malachi to make Yahweh say,<sup>96</sup> "From the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same my name is great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense is offered unto my name, and a pure offering," were absent at the time of the Palestinian settlement and Yahweh was veritably "a jealous god,"<sup>97</sup> insisting upon the strict obedience of the Israelites (whom He had led out of Egypt and through the wilderness and the sea to a land of comparative plenty and peace and formed into one nation)<sup>98</sup> and probably also prohibiting the indigenous population from worshipping him with full rites.<sup>99</sup> This exclusiveness the Jews have practically retained ever since, although matrimonial and other alliances with the native population, a limited amount of proselytization and the sojourn of a large body of strangers (*gêrim*) in their midst at one time must have inevitably led to the inclusion of a large number of non-Israelites within the Hebrew fold: as a matter of fact, Judah was an object of contempt to Israel exactly because a larger admixture of non-Jewish population had led

<sup>93</sup> Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 455; also p. 313.

<sup>94</sup> 1 Sam. 5.8. See also Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 128 for note on Dagon.

<sup>95</sup> Isa. 19.24.

<sup>96</sup> Malachi 1.11.

<sup>97</sup> Lods points out (*op. cit.*, p. 313) that in this the Hebrews did not stand alone, for other nations had equally jealous gods.

<sup>98</sup> The period of the sojourn at Kadesh, culminating in the journey to "the holy mount," seems to have been the decisive moment when the Hebrew tribes formed themselves into a nation, and adopted the worship of Jahweh as their national religion.—Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

<sup>99</sup> For attitude towards different tribes and nations, see, for instance, Deut. 23.3-8.

to the debasing of the Yahwist cult there.<sup>100</sup> Idolatry, however, soon made its appearance all over Palestine—sometimes in a gross form and at other times in a subtle form—and images of Yahweh and the brazen serpent were plentiful in number even in Jerusalem where the Great Temple of Yahweh, housing the Ark which David had brought to Zion, should have rendered them unnecessary. Household gods (teraphim) too, a legacy of the nomadic times, continued to exist undisturbed by the side of Yahweh, of whom probably the baals were formidable rivals in men's allegiance but the teraphim were not foemen worthy of his steel.

The survival of primitive beliefs of the pre-Mosaic age,<sup>101</sup> which the Hebrews shared with other nomadic Semites, also hindered the spiritual development of the Yahweh-concept. There was not only a fully organised cultus of the ancestors of families and clans and of heroes as well, but also a widespread belief in "invisible powers, gods, demons, spirits, the souls of things" and in the capacity of man to control them by appropriate acts and utterances,<sup>102</sup> either in the interest of the individual or in that of the tribe. Blessings, cursings, oaths and mourning rites were supposed to have a magical effect;<sup>103</sup> divination and prophecy were regarded as methods of revealing the divine will;<sup>104</sup> springs and rivers could mete out punishment and expose guilt in trials by ordeal without any reference to God; and evil could be averted by charms, talismans and ornaments that had magical properties. Evil spirits in animal and hybrid forms infested the deserts and the tombs, and also caused madness, leprosy and plagues of all kinds. Trees, springs and mountains, on the other hand, were the haunts

<sup>100</sup> Gideon's golden ephod and the graven image at Dan prove that even image worship was no innovation of Jeroboam.—W. R. Smith, *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, p. 241. See *Dic. Bib.*, II, p. 447. For the post-exilic attitude of the Jews towards the Samaritans, see Cheyne, *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, p. 25 f.

<sup>101</sup> See Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 203 f; *Dic. Bib.*, II, p. 445 f, art. IDOLATRY. See p. 253 *supra*.

<sup>102</sup> Num. 22-24.

<sup>103</sup> Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 479.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 299f.

and abodes of gods, and Moses is represented as putting a boundary round the foot of Mount Sinai lest the people at large should touch the mountain impregnated with divine energy and have to be stoned or shot through. The gods were often looked upon as members of the social group. The moon and the stars were regarded as divine and as capable of aiding or injuring men. There were, again, taboos of various sorts, mostly connected with sex-life, death, food and worship, which determined the nature and duration of ceremonial purity and impurity, and the distinction between clean and unclean (or sacred and secular) persons and animals.<sup>105</sup> Blood was ceremonially spilt on sacred stones to honour or invigorate a god (just as libations were offered to departed persons on pillars near their graves); they were kissed (as the Black stone of the Ka'ba is still done by the pilgrims at Mecca) and anointed with oil; incense was burned to them; and they were very often erected in holy places and addressed as gods. Ceremonial slaughter of criminals and enemies (*herem*) took its rise most probably out of this bloody sacrifice to sacred stones, and Yahweh was often represented as directing the Israelites to put whole populations to the sword and punishing them in case of default.<sup>106</sup> It appears, therefore, that, as Lods observes, "the Hebrews peopled their world, in pre-Mosaic times, with powers and spirits whom they regarded in much the same way as the Canaanite country-folk-seemed to have thought of their baals. And this comparison helps us to understand why the Israelites, when they settled in Palestine, found it so easy to adopt the religious practices of the natives: it was because these practices corresponded to the ideas and the needs which had been those

<sup>105</sup> *Rel. Sys. of the World*, p. 58.

<sup>106</sup> 1 Sam. 15.3; Jos. 6.21; 7.19-25.

In the unique Moabite stone (*circa* 850 B.C.), now in the Louvre at Paris, which is "the oldest historical inscription in any dialect nearly allied to Hebrew," the Moabite Mesha describes how, after sacking the Israelite sanctuary of Nebo, he slew the whole population—"7,000 men and male sojourners and women and female sojourners and maidens"—in honour of Chemosh (and Ashtor).—See *The Legacy of Israel*. Ed. by E. R. Bevan and Charles Singer, p. xiiif; also *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, III, pp. 372-3. Deut. 20.12-3 limited destruction to the males only in the case of distant cities.

of their ancestors." The only difference was that whereas the baals of the Canaanites were "pre-eminently local and agricultural divinities, controlling the fertility of their respective spheres of influence," the *elohim* worshipped by the Hebrews in their nomad period were protectors and patrons of human clans, tribes and confederations.<sup>107</sup>

Here then is as unpromising a beginning for a monotheistic spiritual religion as one might imagine; and yet out of this grew up not only the ethical monotheism of the Jews but also the daughter creeds of Christianity and Islam, the one in opposition to and the other in imitation of Judaism. Certain circumstances favoured this development of the Hebrew religion. From the very beginning Yahweh's primary relation was to the tribes of men and not to departments of nature. The nature and origin of the physical world formed a very subordinate quest and the Creation passages are all comparatively late. God's existence was taken for granted and the heavens which declared the glory of God and the firmament which showed His handiwork were regarded even at a later time not so much as premises to prove God's existence, with the help of the cosmological and teleological arguments as used by later theologians, as conclusions following from His existence:<sup>108</sup> at the dawn of Hebrew religious history nature's happenings did not seem to have furnished any serious problem at all. Moses declared to them the god of their fathers, the god of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob—the same disinclination to worship a novel and unknown god is manifest here as in Hinduism. Although this Mosaic message did not overthrow the gods of other tribes or the popular cults of the nomads, referred to above, it reinforced the revelation to Abraham<sup>109</sup> who was supposed to have discarded the many gods whom the fathers of the Jews had served "in the days of Terah, beyond the River" (Jos. xxiv. 2, 15). By laying

<sup>107</sup> Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

<sup>108</sup> See J. R. Dummelow, *The One Volume Bible Commentary*, p. xcixf.

<sup>109</sup> See *Dic. Bi.* II, p. 446, art. IDOLATRY.



emphasis on the aspect of relation to man—as the god of the Israelites whose patron and protector Yahweh was declared to be—the Mosaic revelation at once invested God with a personal character. Yahweh did not exercise subtle influence on the world like an astral being nor did His major labour consist in providing a home for man out of chaos or cosmic waters. He was conceived to hold moral relations with man, although at first that morality was mostly connected with magical practices and ceremonial observances.<sup>110</sup>

That the magical and the miraculous formed a considerable part of the divine manifestation would be evident from the pages of the Pentateuch. God's spirituality did not include originally very much beyond the attribute of consciousness; it was very often conceived materialistically as a subtle substance, a mystic fluid or energy which could be poured out (Isa. xxix. 10) and which it was dangerous for all but the elect and the ceremonially pure to touch or handle. Not only did theophanies often take material forms—presumably because to the ignorant nomads spiritual inspiration by God would have conveyed little or no meaning—but the taboo of divine presence was so great that looking into the contents of the Ark or touching it involved, in the case of the unauthorised, instantaneous death, as if by lightning-stroke,<sup>111</sup> and death was the penalty for those who would touch Mount Sinai when Yahweh descended on it to reveal Himself to Moses,<sup>112</sup> although the act might be unintentional and no moral turpitude might be involved. It is necessary to know these primitive origins, for otherwise we shall fail to understand why the High Priest alone<sup>113</sup> is authorised to enter the Holy of Holies on the annual Day of Atonement and to cleanse the people that they may be clean from all their sins before Yahweh (Lev. xvi. 30), and why “the mass of the people have no direct access to their

<sup>110</sup> See W. R. Smith, *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, p. 228f.

<sup>111</sup> 1 Sam. 6.19; 2 Sam. 6-6, 7; Lev. 16.1.

<sup>112</sup> Exod. 19.12, 21.

<sup>113</sup> See W. R. Smith, *Old Test. in the J. Ch.*, p. 445.

God in the sanctuary" and "only the priests, who live under rules of intensified ceremonial purity, and have received a peculiar consecration from Jehovah Himself, are permitted to touch the holy things."<sup>114</sup> pretty much as in orthodox Hinduism the Brāhmanas alone are authorised to worship the gods and touch the sacred objects. "The prophets had no power to abrogate any part of the law, to dispense with Mosaic ordinances, or institute new means of Grace, other methods of approach to God in lieu of the hierarchical sacraments."<sup>115</sup> It is not inconceivable also that the institution of kingship and the building of a temple for Yahweh, which are almost synchronous in Israelite history, were both modelled on the practices of the surrounding nations and that the persistence of the temple-rituals was a relic of the Canaanite religious ceremony just as many Roman Catholic practices to-day are survivals of pagan customs. The Ark of the Covenant was in fact a sort of compromise between spirituality and idolatry:<sup>116</sup> it satisfied the craving for a visible symbol without providing an image and the tradition that it contained the two tables of Divine injunction must have invested it with an ethical meaning. The nearest modern analogue of this would be the worship of the Granth Sahib by the Sikhs who venerate and adore in much the same way their scripture on this side idolatry.

The conception of God as a person could lead in Judaism, as in other religions, to divergent types of development. Thus personification might lead to anthropomorphism or thinking God in terms of man. This anthropomorphism might be taken literally or figuratively, *i.e.*, God

<sup>114</sup> W. R. Smith, *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, p. 229. Even the Levites, who formed a second cordon of holy ministers between the people and the priests, might not touch either ark or altar, lest both they and the priests should die (Num. 18.3), not to talk of the laity (Num. 17.13); and the stranger was ordained to be put to death if he approached nigh unto the priests in the tent of meeting or the tabernacle of the congregation (Num. 18.7).

<sup>115</sup> W. R. Smith, *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, p. 231.

<sup>116</sup> The common idol was an uncouth figure of clay or wood; the more pretentious was of gold or silver, or at least plated.—*Dic. Bi.*, II, p. 445. (See Isa., 44.11-8.)

might be invested with the limitations of man or He might be described in terms of human character as this is the nearest category applicable to him. When anthropomorphism extends to the attribution of human organs to God we have the basis of idolatry. Physical descriptions are not rare even in the oldest traditions. "Yahveh moulds man like a potter; he plants the garden of Eden and walks through it in the cool of the evening like a rich Mesopotamian. Adam hears his footsteps. He comes down from heaven to see the building of the Tower of Babel. He eats and drinks with Abraham, and the latter washes his feet. He struggles with Jacob and allows himself to be overcome."<sup>117</sup> He smells the sweet savour of Noah's sacrifice after the Deluge. He is described as having eyes, ears, a mouth, nostrils, hands, a heart and bowels, and his breath as being long or short.<sup>118</sup> It is difficult to say that "the language only testifies to the warmth and intensity of the religious feelings of the writers;"<sup>119</sup> it is far more probable that these realistic tales, like the fables in the Purāṇas, were devised to satisfy certain types of mind. In fact, there is a method in the presentation of these human characteristics, for they become rarer in God's dealings with the Hebrew race in course of time. The underlying idea probably was that there was a time when God conversed with the patriarchs of the race face to face and that, therefore, Yahweh was to them not an object of faith or speculation but a visible presence in human form.<sup>120</sup>

This remark may be illustrated further by the way in which Yahweh deals with Moses. Possibly the narrator wished to indicate the spiritual advance effected in the creed of Moses by representing Yahweh as manifesting Himself through signs and symbols—through a burning bush, a column of smoke or fire or what is vaguely described as His

<sup>117</sup> D'Alviella, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

<sup>118</sup> Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 457. See, however, the explanation in A. Cohen, *The Teachings of Maimonides*, p. 84 f (*Guide to the Perplexed*, 1.46).

<sup>119</sup> *Dic. Bi.*, II, p. 198.

<sup>120</sup> Attempt is made to defend invisibility by suggesting that God appears to men in dreams or at night and not in waking or normal moments. Yahweh wanted to leave Jacob as the day was breaking (Gen. 32.26).

glory. There is a hesitation about visible presence to Moses : although we are assured that with Moses Yahweh " will speak mouth to mouth, even manifestly and not in dark speeches, and the form of the Lord shall he behold " (Num. xii. 8), we find that what Moses actually saw was the back of Yahweh when He took away His hand from his eyes (Ex. xxxiii. 23). Later Jewish commentators, in order to attenuate the physical presence still further, held that it was the knot on the phylacteries of Yahweh that Moses saw;<sup>121</sup> and the Qur'ān, which is generally more opposed to anthropomorphism than other scriptures, lays down that Moses never saw the form of God but swooned away when a mountain was turned into dust by Him in answer to his prayer that God should show Himself to him (Sura vii. 139). That the popular belief about Yahweh with a physical frame revived in later times is undoubted, for from the 3rd century to the 10th century A.D. various speculations about God's stature, the paraphernalia of the heavenly court and even God's daily occupations were indulged in, till the Karaites began to ridicule this whole method of mystical anthropomorphism.<sup>122</sup> The Deuteronomy, as is to be expected, denied altogether that Moses saw Yahweh (iv. 12) and added as a reason that otherwise people would be tempted to worship idols (iv. 15-19):<sup>123</sup> " Take ye therefore good heed unto yourselves ; for ye saw no manner of form on the day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire : lest ye corrupt yourselves, and make you a graven image in the form of any figure, the likeness of male or female, the likeness of any beast that is on the earth, the likeness of any winged fowl that flieth in the heaven, the likeness of anything that creepeth

<sup>121</sup> The Talmudists represented God not only as wearing the phylacteries but also as reading the Torah much as a pious Jew of the times used to do.—See ERE. vi. 296

<sup>122</sup> ERE. vi. 296.

<sup>123</sup> Canon Lindsay Dewar points out that this Deuteronomic legislation was responsible for diverting the nation's imagination to the Temple and, after its destruction, to the Messiah and the idealised Zion. It was also responsible for fastening the imagination on the letter of the law.—See *Imagination and Religion*, p. 86.

on the ground, the likeness of any fish that is in the water under the earth: and lest thou lift up thine eyes unto heaven, and when thou seest the sun and the moon and the stars, even all the host of heaven, thou be drawn away and worship them, and serve them, which the Lord thy God hath divided unto all the peoples under the whole heaven." But very often this invisibility was qualified by two ideas. The one is the belief that Yahweh is not really invisible but that no one can see His face and yet live (Ex. xxxiii. 20). The other is that Yahweh may sometimes show His form and yet choose not to kill, as when He spared the lives of Jacob (Gen. xxxii. 30), Manoah and his wife (Judges xiii. 22), Gideon (Judges vi. 23), Moses, Aaron, Nadab, Abihu and seventy of the elders of Israel (Ex. xxiv. 9-11).

But the creation of man after the image of God (Gen. i. 26-27), if taken in a physical sense, is bound to cause difficulty;<sup>124</sup> and this is likely to be accentuated by the possibility of "sons of God" marrying the daughters of men (Gen. vi. 2), whatever meaning we might attach to the word 'sons' here.<sup>125</sup> The difficulty was sought to be overcome by suggesting that all descriptions of Yahweh's form were figurative or illusory. The various organs stand for the different powers and attributes of God and have no physical meaning. In the Targums (*i.e.*, versions in the Aramaic vernacular) "all anthropomorphisms, with few exceptions, are paraphrased and spiritualised. Thus, *e.g.*, by the eyes and ears of God are understood His omniscience, by the hand His omnipotence, by the mouth of God His immediate communication with man, or inspiration (*e.g.*, Nu. 12<sup>8</sup>). The finger of God in Ex. 8<sup>19</sup> is rendered 'this is a plague from before Jahweh.'"<sup>126</sup> Or, again, all physical activities of God were

<sup>124</sup> For the spiritual and rabbinical interpretation of Man being made in the image of God in the Book of *Zohar*, see Abelson, *Jewish Mysticism*, p. 130 f (esp. p. 135).

<sup>125</sup> *Dic. Bi.*, II, p. 217.

<sup>126</sup> ERE. vi. 295. Maimonides in his *Guide to the Perplexed* adopts a similar device (see ERE, viii. 342).

either qualified by the use of the words 'as it were,' or described in vague general terms or entirely removed. Thus, He did not actually eat with Abraham or wrestle with Jacob—it only appeared *as though* He did.<sup>127</sup> The informed reader will readily remember in this connection Ezekiel's visions of God in the opening chapter of his book<sup>128</sup> where, speaking of the enthroned God, he writes that "upon the likeness of the throne was a likeness as the appearance of a man upon it above" and that this was "the appearance of the likeness of the glory of the Lord." But as the pure spirituality of God did not seem to have been adequately secured even by these devices, a number of intermediate beings and angels were latterly conceived to take over all physical manifestations of God. Thus in the later Jewish literature man was supposed to have been created not in the image of God but in that of the ministering angels.<sup>129</sup> Similarly, wherever the personal appearance of Yahweh had originally been described, one or other of the many *theologumena* took its place. The substitutes were invested with the anthropomorphic functions of Yahweh so that His own transcendental and spiritual character might not be affected in any way. Of these passing appearances of Yahweh, which do not exhaust His being completely,<sup>130</sup> mention may be made of 'the angel of Yahweh,' which has been described as 'a temporary descent of Yahweh into visibility;' 'the face of Yahweh' which partially manifests Him, possibly in association with the sacred Ark; 'the glory of Yahweh' which is His manifestation to Israel on solemn occasions in the form of fire and brightness in general; 'the name of Yahweh' which is His manifestation in the attitude of help.<sup>131</sup>

<sup>127</sup> *Dic. Bi.*, II, p. 206. See Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 239, art. JEWS.

<sup>128</sup> Ezek. 1.26, 28. With this may be compared the more realistic descriptions of Daniel, 7.9 and Rev. 4.2.

<sup>129</sup> *Dic. Bi.*, II, p. 206.

<sup>130</sup> See *Dic. Bi.*, Extra Vol., p. 638 f, for a full description of these different forms. See Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 460; Cheyne, *Traditions and Beliefs of Ancient Israel*, pp. 277 f, 528.

<sup>131</sup> Islam adopted the term 'Face of Allāh' in imitation of the Jewish description and the Mystics of Islam also used the expression 'the Name of Allāh.'

There is no doubt, however, that what the Deuteronomy pictures as a possible consequence of seeing God's form was what was actually practised by the Israelites at large and that personification led to idolatry in various forms. We are told, for instance, that in the private sanctuary of Micah the Ephraimite there were an ephod, teraphim, a graven image and a molten image,<sup>132</sup> and also that Gideon made an ephod of gold;<sup>133</sup> and it may be presumed that regular religious service was held in their honour with the help of priests, as in Hindu temples to-day. The figure of God was probably human in most cases;<sup>134</sup> but, as in popular Hinduism to-day, other forms also were not unknown. The bull-image of Dan and Bethel, the brazen serpent, the massebah, the ark, the asherah, the teraphim and the ephod (the exact nature of the last two being still a matter of dispute)<sup>135</sup> were all associated with the Yahweh-cult and lowered the religion even below the anthropomorphic level and reduced it, in the eyes of the prophets to a primitive superstition. But even anthropomorphism puts obvious limitations on divine omnipresence; no wonder, therefore, that it should be necessary to allot to Yahweh an earthly seat. At a time when He was not regarded as having His seat in heaven (of which Genesis xxviii is the first intimation) the multiplication of His sanctuaries in the old Canaanite high places and in new seats was a real spiritual gain inasmuch as the partial limitation incidental to a human figure was thereby removed.<sup>136</sup> Still, human limitations lingered on and Yahweh had to leave either heaven or Sinai in order to inspect distant things and events and to render effective help to His chosen race.<sup>137</sup> From this

<sup>132</sup> Judges 17; 18. Lods thinks that there was only one statue (*op. cit.*, p. 430 f.n.1).

<sup>133</sup> Judges 8.24-7.  
<sup>134</sup> *Dic. Bi.*, Extra Vol., p. 627. See J. Yahuda, *Law and Life according to Hebrew Thought*, p. 25 (Representation of the Deity).

<sup>135</sup> Lods, *op. cit.*, pp. 430-1; *Dic. Bi.*, II, p. 201; Extra Vol., p. 628 f.

<sup>136</sup> See *Dic. Bi.*, Extra Vol., p. 646.

<sup>137</sup> Though Heaven was His throne, He manifested himself over all the earth,—to Abraham in Ur and Canaan; to Jacob in Mesopotamia, to whom He also said, 'Fear not to go down into Egypt; I will go down with thee' (Gn. 46.3);

point of view, Josiah's concentration of all worship at Jerusalem was a doubtful immediate blessing, for it must have diverted a portion of the popular veneration from the public cult of a unitary Yahweh to the private worship of the many household gods (teraphim),<sup>139</sup> as the people could not have easily changed over from the cult of a near but limited presence to that of a distant but ubiquitous Yahweh. It is needless to add that a purely spiritual God with a centre everywhere and a circumference nowhere was established in the popular mind after prophetic denunciations of centuries, and that the disappearance of the Ark<sup>139</sup> and the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem materially contributed to the final overthrow of idolatry among the Jews.<sup>140</sup>

The spiritual development of Judaism may be measured not only by its success in working off the imperfect representations of Yahweh through visible symbols but also by its transcendence of that anthropopathy with which early thought had invested Him.<sup>141</sup> It is in the prophetic writings<sup>142</sup> that Yahweh could say that He is God and not man, for in earlier books He is so far assimilated to man that not only human traits but also human imperfections cling to Him.<sup>143</sup> If, like man, He

to Moses at Sinai and in Egypt; to His people, going before them into Canaan (Ex. 33.15). There, though His presence was specially attached to the Ark, He also revealed Himself to Joshua as the captain of the Lord's Hosts (Jos. 5.14).—*Dic. Bi.*, II, p. 203.

<sup>135</sup> See W. R. Smith, *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, p. 248, on the loss of personal contact with God on account of the suppression of the local sanctuaries; also p. 364.

<sup>139</sup> Five things which existed in the first Temple were lacking in the second. These were (a) Fire from on High, (b) Anointing Oil, (c) the Ark, (d) Holy Spirit (i.e., canonical prophecy), (e) the Urim and Thummim.—Abelson, *The Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature*, p. 261. See p. 267 n(2) for later substitutes of (b) and (c).

<sup>140</sup> For the incorporeality of God in Maimonides, see Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 36 f. See ERE. vii. 342.

<sup>141</sup> See Maimonides, *Guide to the Perplexed*, 1.56, 57 (Cohen, *op. cit.*, pp. 86, 89).

<sup>142</sup> Occasionally elsewhere also: see 1 Sam. 15.29—'The Lord is not a man that he should repent;' also Num. 23.19.

<sup>143</sup> For an instructive list of quotations on this topic from Talmudic literature, see P. I. Hershon, *A Talmudic Miscellany*, p. 128 f.



is a conscious personality, like man also is He limited in knowledge. Being not omniscient,<sup>144</sup> He has to come down from heaven to see the building of the Tower of Babel<sup>145</sup> and to verify the reported wickedness of Sodom.<sup>146</sup> Possibly also the direction to Moses to ask the Israelites to mark their door-posts and lintel with the blood of a lamb, so that He might "pass over" their houses and smite the first-born in Egyptian homes only, was prompted by a sense of His limited knowledge, although the motive to test their obedience was also present.<sup>147</sup> He possesses most of the human emotions, good and bad. "He repents that He made man (Gn. 6<sup>9</sup>), and also of the evil that He intended to do (Ex. 32<sup>14</sup>); He is grieved (Gn. 6<sup>6</sup>), angry (1 K. 11<sup>9</sup>), jealous (Dt. 6<sup>15</sup>), gracious (Ps. 111<sup>4</sup>); He loves (1 K. 10<sup>9</sup>), hates (Pr. 6<sup>16</sup>), and much more."<sup>148</sup> He is afraid of the men that He had Himself made lest they should obtain too much power—that by eating of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge Adam should be like Him and that by building the Tower of Babel men should reach heaven and gain divine power; and He behaves towards them just as Indra does towards aspirants after his heavenly throne, *i.e.*, He confounds them and crushes them.<sup>149</sup> A certain amount of anthropopathism is inevitable in any description of God if there is to be any distinction between His attitude towards saints and that towards sinners. It is only in philosophies like those of Śaṅkara and Bradley, where Brahman is impersonal and the Absolute super-personal, that characterisation belongs to a lower form of the Ultimate Principle—Īśvara in the one case and God in the other—and the Ultimate Ground of all being becomes indeterminate. Later Judaism did not escape this tendency altogether when, presumably under the influence of Greek Philosophy, God

<sup>144</sup> See Num. 5.15; 1 Kings 17.18. A meal offering of memorial, bringing iniquity to remembrance, was practised.—See Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 467.

<sup>145</sup> Gen., 11.5. See Cheyne, *op. cit.*, p. 201 f.

<sup>146</sup> Gen., 18.21.

<sup>147</sup> Exod., 12.13.

<sup>148</sup> Dic. Bi., II, p. 198. See 1 Sam. 15.11 and also Num. 23.19; 1 Sam. 15.29.

<sup>149</sup> See L. T. Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution*, II, p. 121.

was removed far away from the world and contact with Him was effected through intermediate beings, emanations or manifestations, possessing some sort of substantial existence of their own by the side of God Himself. The early writers, however, did not have the scruple of the philosophers or of the authors of the Septuagint version or the Targum literature, who either used paraphrases for these human thoughts and emotions, when used of God, or else removed them wholesale.<sup>150</sup> They not only used freely these expressions regarding God but had no scruple even in suggesting that God incited the Israelites to steal the silver and gold of their Egyptian neighbours on the eve of their flight from Egypt as a timely provision against the days of impending necessity; <sup>151</sup> that He agreed to put the innocent Job to trial at the suggestion of Satan; <sup>152</sup> and that He sent lying spirits to entice Ahab so that he might be killed.<sup>153</sup>

What hindered the moral development in the idea of Yahweh was the reminiscence of the needs of nomadic days. The Hebrews of those times thought in terms of their tribes as did the other Semites, and the character of Yahweh was modelled on tribal needs and tribal ideas. Their salvation lay in close unity for purposes of defence against the Egyptians and the Philistines and offence against the Canaanites whose fertile land they coveted. Naturally, therefore, the God that revealed Himself to Abraham and Moses was primarily needed for tribal expansion and tribal cohesion so that a nation might evolve out of scattered groups. This explains two features of Yahweh's character—His martial temper and His partiality towards Israel. Yahweh is the leader of the Israelites in war. He was their only King before the

<sup>150</sup> *Dic. Bi.*, II, pp. 206-7.

<sup>151</sup> *Exod.* 11.2.

<sup>152</sup> *Job.* 1.12; 2.6.

<sup>153</sup> 1 Kings 22.20. See Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 469 f. Thus Abimelech would have been slain by God if he had lain with Abraham's wife, Sarah, although he did not know her to be another man's wife and would then have been innocent from a moral point of view (*Gen.* 20.3-7),

establishment of the monarchy;<sup>154</sup> He is the lord of host<sup>155</sup> —*Yahweh Zebā'ôth* who often leaves His dwelling place on Sinai to lead the Israelites personally to victory.<sup>156</sup> His angels fight the battles of Israel and even the stars in their course fight against Sisera at His command, as described in the Song of Deborah (Judges v.20), and the captain of His host comes to the help of Joshua (Jos. v. 13 f). He makes known His march by the rustling of leaves (2 Sam. v. 24), He gives out a lusty shout on arrival at the Israelite camp;<sup>157</sup> He lays low their enemies or pursues them with great slaughter. To quote Lods:<sup>158</sup> "In time of war, Jahweh aided his people in counsel as well as in action: he aided them in counsel by revealing through oracles, dreams, or omens, the fortunate or fatal result of the intended campaign, and by pointing out the necessary strategy;.....in action he aided them by spreading panic among the enemy, by pouring down hail upon them, by causing the sun and moon to stand still in order to allow his people to dispatch the fugitives, by producing a storm or an earthquake.....In Hebrew poetry Jahweh is 'a man of war'; he overwhelms his enemies with his arrows and smites them with his sword." As His visible presence, the Ark was carried in front of the advancing Israelite army, and there was tumultuous joy at its arrival at the camp. "Only so much is clear that after the permanent establishment of the Ark in the mysterious darkness of the *adytum* of the temple, its former connexion with the war-god, *Jahweh Zebā'ôth*, must have vanished from the popular consciousness, and that in place of this the awe-inspiring majesty of this God must have come into the foreground."<sup>159</sup> It is in his capacity as the war-lord of the

<sup>154</sup> Monarchy was instituted with mixed feelings or rather viewed differently at different times. See Judges 8.22-8; 1 Sam. 8.10 f; 1 Sam. 9.16.

<sup>155</sup> See *Dic. Bi.*, Extra Vol., p. 636 f., for the various meanings of this appellation.

<sup>156</sup> In Num. 21.14 reference is made to a Book of the Wars of Yahweh which is now lost.

<sup>157</sup> Num. 23.21.

<sup>158</sup> Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 462; see also p. 294.

<sup>159</sup> *Dic. Bi.*, Extra Vol., p. 637. This change is reflected in the change in the meaning of the term *nebi'im* which originally signified probably those who

Israelites that Yahweh insists on the wholesale slaughter of conquered enemies and the destruction of their properties—a direction that was softened at a later time and also originally in the case of distant cities.<sup>160</sup> His treatment of offending Israel or else of its enemies often looks like a punitive measure more allied to military discipline than to justice tempered by mercy, and very often the offence is merely technical. He is frequently represented as quick to take offence, subject to “unaccountable humours”<sup>161</sup> and revengeful to a degree—whether the picture is a survival of ancient belief or a warning against moral and spiritual lapses it is difficult to say.<sup>162</sup>

These unattractive features of Yahweh disappeared as Israel succeeded in its wars with the Canaanites; but still no quarter was shown to those who forsook Yahweh<sup>163</sup> and went after the local baals. Israel was the people of Yahweh and had special responsibilities in the matter of worshipping Him and Him only. Yahweh ceased to fight Israel's battles, and even used Assyria and Babylon as avenging rods, when Israel forgot its covenant with Him. The Prophets were responsible, however, for bringing about a change even in

were seized in holy frenzy and produced ecstatic cries in connection with the battles of Yahweh, the war-god, but at a later time those who revealed the spiritual aspect of religion (although they too were always imbued with a national spirit). In early times the prophets were called ‘the chariots and horsemen of Israel’ (2 Kings 2.12; 13.14). See *Dic. Bi.*, Extra Vol., p. 653, 655, 656. They originally corresponded to Dervishes.—See Huxley, *Religion without Revelation*, p. 235.

<sup>160</sup> The spirit of fanaticism becomes dangerous and homicidal when it eggs on the worshippers to aggressive wars against people of alien cults and when it justifies as pleasing to its god the cruelties inflicted on the conquered. This is the spirit of old Israel and of Islam.—L. R. Farnell, *The Attributes of God*, p. 76.

Dent. 20.19 forbids the destruction of fruit trees which 2 Kings 3.19 enjoins.

<sup>161</sup> See Exod. 33.19.

<sup>162</sup> The great prophets and their post-exilic disciples explained the anger of Yahweh by the injustice of man (the people, the generation or the individual) which required to be punished; but the ancient Israelites, while not unmindful of the relation between guilt and punishment, thought of many more causes why God should take offence or regarded Divine anger as inscrutable.—See Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 467.

<sup>163</sup> Another great offence in ancient times was offence against Yahweh's own person or sinning against the Lord (1 Sam. 2.25) as when Eli's sons took their portion of the sacrifices before Yahweh had received His own or before the other guests had theirs (1 Sam. 2.13-6).

this conception of Yahweh. It is not out of anger but out of His love that He chastises sinning Israel so that she might return in penitence to her rightful Lord.<sup>164</sup> In a well-known passage of Exodus (xxxiv. 6) God is described as "full of compassion and gracious, slow to anger and plenteous in mercy and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin;" but the passage ends with the threat that God "will by no means clear the guilty, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children; and upon the children's children, upon the third and upon the fourth generation." It was left to the Prophets to inculcate the first part of this description and to modify the last part in so far as it related to punishing the guiltless posterity of sinners. St. Paul may be said to have partially undone the work of the Prophets regarding the second part in so far as he made the whole human race the inheritors of the sin of Adam and found in the unmerited suffering of Jesus the Divine scheme of human redemption: the Doctrine of Original Sin is fortunately not necessary for a proper appreciation of the life and death of Jesus or the message of salvation preached by him.<sup>165</sup> The whole burden of the

<sup>164</sup> Cf. The Proverbs 3.11-2: My son, despise not the chastening of the Lord; Neither be weary of his reproof: For whom the Lord loveth he reproveth; Even as a father the son in whom he delighteth.

<sup>165</sup> See L. R. Farnell, *The Attributes of God*, p. 125; also O. Pfeiderer, *Paulinism*, Vol. I, Chaps. I and II.; *Dic. Bi.*, Ext. Vol., p. 666; also Gen. 8.21; Ps. 51.7-15; Job 14.4; 15.14; 25.4 f.

"The first signification (both in origin and importance) of the redeeming death of Christ is connected with the sentence of guilt, by which man, as the object of the wrath of God, was placed under *the curse of the law*, subjected to death as the punishment of sin. Man is ransomed from this disastrous state of punishment in that the demand for his punishment is satisfied by the death of Christ as a vicarious *expiatory sacrifice*. Through this ransom the death of Christ is the cause of the appeasing of the wrath of God, or of the manifestation of his love, and thus it is a purely *objective* act of God or Christ *in our behalf*, for the purpose of our rescue. But, *at the same time*, the death of Christ frees us from the *power of sin* which dwells in the flesh, for this principle of sin is destroyed, first in Christ himself, and then in us through our mystical communion with him. From this point of view the death of Christ as a *mortification of the flesh* is the commencement of a *subjective* ethical process, which goes on and completes itself *in us*."—Pfeiderer, *Paulinism*, I, p. 92.

It is interesting to note that Rai Bahadur G. C. Ghosh, the founder of the present Lectureship, although a devout Christian, does not think that Christ came

later Prophetic teaching, on the other hand, is that individuals are punished for their own sins by Yahweh and not for the iniquities of their ancestors, kings or leaders, as was preached in olden times when, for instance, the Pharaoh's personal guilt entailed the death of all the first-born of Egypt<sup>166</sup> and David's blunder in taking a census in spite of Joab's warning sent seventy thousand innocent people to death while he himself escaped.<sup>167</sup>

That, in spite of a change in the concept of Yahweh, the Temple-service should be marked by extensive ceremonial slaughter of animals of different kinds and this should be acquiesced in by the Prophets<sup>168</sup> must be due to the fact that Yahweh absorbed the magical sacrifices of blood, which were originally made to fetishes in the pre-Mosaic days of the Semitic tribes (and confirmed by Moses in his code of religion), and also retained the character of the war-lord. The Law was to the Jews the only means of Divine grace<sup>169</sup> and the law laid down in minute details the quantity and quality of each object of gift to Yahweh. All that the Prophets could do, therefore, was

as the Second Adam to undo the sin of the First. In an article entitled 'Lamentations of Christ' in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta) of 26th Dec., 1933 (Dāk edition), he writes: "In my Father's kingdom the offering of a ransom for one's sin or the pleading by another on behalf of the sinner does not avail: every unrepentant sinner shall suffer for his sin, but none in his stead; heaven will not be filled by unregenerate beings." See also his article on *The Theory of a special divinity of Christ* in the *Proceedings of the Eleventh Indian Philosophical Congress*, p. 187 f.

<sup>166</sup> Exod. 11.5.

<sup>167</sup> 2 Sam. 24.15; see, however, 1 Chr. 21.1. See R. M. Jones, *Religious Foundations*, p. 92.

<sup>168</sup> See Dummelow, *The One Volume Bible Commentary*, p. lxxiii, for later references than O.T.; also W. R. Smith, *Old Test in J. Ch.*, p. 238 f.

<sup>169</sup> See *Dic. Bi.*, II, p. 208: "Thus God Himself was regarded as devoted to the study of His own Law, and not only of the Law but even of the rabbinical developments of the Law. By day He 'is engaged upon the 24 Books of the Torah, the Prophets, and the Hagiographs, and by night He is engaged upon the 6 divisions of the Mishnah. God is even represented as having companions in the study of the Torah. At least we have, according to *Baba Mezia*, 85b, even in heaven an assembly, like the high schools on earth, devoted to the investigations of the Torah. Here the great Rabbis sit in the order of their merit and of their knowledge of the Law, studying *Halacha*, and God studies with them. They dispute with one another and lay down *Halacha*.'"

to point out that a just and merciful god wanted something more than offerings of animals and cereals and liquids in order to be pleased.<sup>170</sup> In their zeal for multiplying religious services and for collecting the sacred tithes<sup>171</sup> the priests forgot the oppression and hardship likely to be caused to the poor. The centralisation of all worship at Jerusalem had, again, an adverse effect on those Levites who were scattered through the provinces; they lost their priestly occupations and were thrown upon the charity of the landed classes along with the strangers, the widows and the orphans.<sup>172</sup> The earlier Prophets could not condemn the sacrifices altogether, as, before the return from Babylon, gifts to the sanctuary were spontaneous and private, and not, as after Ezekiel's and Ezra's reforms, an official business conducted with the help of "a fixed tribute in kind upon all agricultural produce and flocks."<sup>173</sup> But they and their successors had hard words for those in power who were buying out the poor proprietors of land and who thought that justice could be sold, unlawful pleasures of all kinds indulged in, and the poor neglected or oppressed with impunity, provided the sacrifices sent to the Temple were regular and ample.<sup>174</sup>

"Hear the word of the Lord, ye rulers of Sodom; give ear unto the law of our God, ye people of Gomorrah. To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith the Lord: I am full of the burnt offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats. When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand, to trample my courts? Bring no more vain oblations; incense is abomination unto me; new moon and sabbath, the calling of assemblies,—I

<sup>170</sup> W. R. Smith, *Old Test. in J. Ch.*, p. 240.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 442 f.

<sup>172</sup> Dent. 12.12, 18; 14.27, 29; 16.11, 14; 26.11 f.

<sup>173</sup> W. R. Smith, *Old Test. in J. Ch.*, p. 375. During pre-exilic days the Temple was the king's sanctuary and the regular offerings were his gift. The people, however, agreed to pay a regular voluntary poll-tax for the regular offerings of the Second Temple.

<sup>174</sup> Micah 6.7, 8; Jer., 7. See W. R. Smith, *Old Test. in J. Ch.*, p. 372.

cannot away with iniquity and the solemn meeting. Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth : they are a trouble unto me ; I am weary to bear them. And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide my eyes from you ; yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear : your hands are full of blood. Wash you, make you clean ; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes ; cease to do evil ; learn to do well ; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow.”<sup>175</sup> Deutero-Isaiah is more outspoken against the whole Temple-cult : “ Thus saith the Lord, The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool : what manner of house will ye build unto me and what place shall be my rest ? For all these things hath mine hand made, and so all these things came to be, saith the Lord : but to this man will I look, even to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and that trembleth at my word. He that killeth an ox is as he that slayeth a man ; he that sacrificeth a lamb, as he that breaketh a dog’s neck ; he that offereth an oblation, as he that offereth swine’s blood ; he that burneth frankincense, as he that blesseth an idol.”<sup>176</sup> In the same strain speaks Micah : “ Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God ? shall I come before him with burnt offerings, with calves of a year old ? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil ? shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul ? He hath showed thee, O man, what is good ; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God ? ”<sup>177</sup> In spite of these denunciations, so long as the Temple lasted there could be no question of abolishing the rituals. But during the Babylonian exile the nation had learnt to worship Yahweh in a different manner, for outside Jerusalem no sacrifice could be offered and people had to eat

<sup>175</sup> Isa. 1.10-17 ; also 59.1 f. See Amos 5.21 ; 1 Sam. 15.22.

<sup>176</sup> Isa. 66.1 f.

<sup>177</sup> Micah 6.6-8.



'unclean food.' Hence after the return of the remnant from captivity, in addition to some improvement in the temple-worship, which was resumed with some enthusiasm by the returned exiles as a public cult with a new code of rules, the exilic custom of "the devotional study of the scriptures, the synagogue, the practice of prayer elsewhere than before the altar," which were "all independent of the old idea of worship," was continued as a daily religion and made up for "the narrowing of the privilege of access to God at the altar."<sup>178</sup> A growing sense of abiding sin and the necessity of Divine forgiveness required a different God from the one whose wrath was not turned away except after inflicting injury, and who insisted on his quota of vengeance for a transgression of his ordinances.<sup>179</sup> The Prophets taught that Yahweh was ever ready to extend His loving forgiveness to the penitent "without the intervention of any ritual sacrament" for He is 'God and not man' (Hos. xi. 9). "God is with Israel in his sin, only because He has implanted within him this virtue of repentance."<sup>180</sup> This penitence, however, must show itself not in outward observances but in active charity and by undoing the wrong done: "Is it to bow down his head as a rush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him? wilt thou call this a fast, and an acceptable day to the Lord? Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bonds of wickedness, to undo the bands of the yoke, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke? Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house? when thou seest the naked, that thou cover him; and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh? Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thy healing shall spring forth speedily: and thy righteousness shall go before thee; the glory of the Lord shall be thy rearward." (Is. lviii. 5-8.)

In the conviction, therefore, that God's punishment is not wanton or vindictive but prompted by a desire to reconcile

<sup>178</sup> W. R. Smith, *Old Test. in J. Ch.*, p. 379.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 372.

<sup>180</sup> Abelson, *The Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature*, p. 140.

man to Himself through the purification of suffering and repentance Israel could not but look upon Yahweh as the well-meaning Father who chastises him out of love.<sup>181</sup> Long before the Lord's Prayer was uttered or penned the Jews had learnt to look upon Israel as God's son and Yahweh as the Heavenly Father (Is. lxiii. 16, lxiv. 8) towards whom trustful resignation was the only proper attitude.<sup>182</sup> He became the Holy One of Israel<sup>183</sup> who looked to men's motives and not to their acts. Israel is to circumcise his heart and not his foreskin to find favour with Yahweh. God is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth if His redeeming mercy is to be sought. Nor did the prophets nor even the legalists leave the people in any doubt about what they meant by a spiritual religion. Here, for instance, is an illustrative quotation from Ezekiel (xviii. 1-9, 23) which may be compared with the Quranic injunction quoted at the end of the first chapter: "The word of the Lord came unto me again, saying, What mean ye, that ye use this proverb concerning the land of Israel, saying, The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge? As I live, saith the Lord God, ye shall not have occasion any more to use this proverb in Israel. Behold, all souls are mine; as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine: the soul that sinneth, it shall die. But if a man be just, and do that which is lawful and right, and hath not eaten upon the mountains, neither hath lifted up his eyes to the idols of the house of Israel, neither hath defiled his neighbour's wife, neither hath come near to a woman in her separation; and hath not wronged any, but hath restored to the debtor his pledge, hath spoiled none by violence, hath given his bread to the hungry, and hath covered the naked with a garment: he that hath not given forth upon usury,

<sup>181</sup> Proverbs 3.12.

<sup>182</sup> Wendt, in his *System der Christlichen Lehre*, counts no less than 23 passages in the Old Testament in which God is conceived as father exactly in the same way as we find in the gospels.—Dhirendra Nath Chowdhury, *In Search of Jesus Christ*, p. 20. (See other references there.) See also Abelson, *Jewish Mysticism*, p. 79 f.; *The Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature*, p. 51. See art. GOD in *Dic. Bi.*, II, p. 208 for references.

<sup>183</sup> For the evolution of the meaning of 'Holy,' see *Dic. Bi.* Extra Vol., p. 681 f.

neither hath taken any increase, that hath withdrawn his hand from iniquity, hath executed true judgment between man and man, hath walked in my statutes, and hath kept my judgments, to deal truly ; he is just, he shall surely live, saith the Lord God." " Have I any pleasure in the death of the wicked? saith the Lord God ; and not rather that he should return from his way, and live? " <sup>184</sup>

The failure of Judaism to become a world-religion in spite of these spiritual developments must be laid at the door of that Jewish exclusiveness which is at once the wonder and the despair of all nations who have come into contact with the world's most despised and persecuted race. From the very dawn of his history Israel has suffered from a tribal paranoia with its characteristic symptoms of megalomania and persecution delusion. Israel is God's chosen race, Yahweh's own anointed seed, His first-born : to Israel of all nations has He chosen to reveal Himself and His name.<sup>185</sup> It is not to individuals in their private capacity that God has chosen to speak nor did He wait for them to approach Him with a spotless and spiritual life before making His wishes and graces known.<sup>186</sup> The glorification of Israel was a part of Divine policy—through him had Yahweh decided to spread the message of true devotion and upright conduct. When He promised to Abraham that He would make a great nation out of his seed or called Moses to preach His name, He was dealing with them as representatives of the future race. He established a covenant between Himself and Israel as is done between two nations so that no scope might be left for prevarication and no chance given to the race to plead its inability or unwillingness to ratify the transaction. He wrote down the conditions of Israel's guidance in two tables of stone and sealed the covenant with Moses by summoning to His presence, in addition to Moses and Aaron,

<sup>184</sup> See *Dic. Bi.*, Extra Vol., p. 675.

<sup>185</sup> *Dic. Bi.*, Extra Vol., p. 684 (the relation of Yahweh to Israel). This appears specially in the Deuteronomy.

<sup>186</sup> See W. R. Smith, *Old Test. in J. Ch.*, pp. 235-6.

seventy-two representative Israelites who all celebrated the event by a friendly feast.<sup>187</sup> But God did something more. He gave them Canaan as an inheritance after leading them out of Egypt, saving them from the pursuing Egyptians and all providing for them in the wilderness. The nation was to remember that Yahweh was its special god and that the worship of any other god before or beside Him was forbidden. No more matrimonial alliance with the pagan Canaanites,<sup>188</sup> nor sitting at their sanctuaries and consulting their oracles permitted. The sin of a single leader was regarded as a default of the nation, for in those nomadic and patriarchal days the tribe had a collective responsibility and the iniquities of the fathers were visited on their sons.

In its original form this exclusive alliance of Yahweh with Israel did not always prove morally satisfactory. Moses could insinuate that foreign nations would not think highly of Yahweh if after extending His protection to the Israelites He should refuse to help them in their distress—it was more or less a point of honour with Him to help Israel against the foreigners who were backed by their own gods.<sup>189</sup> "Thus," as Kuenen observes,<sup>190</sup> "in the conception of the people, Yahweh's might, or, if you prefer to put it so, Yahweh's obligation to display his might, must often have overbalanced both his wrath against Israel's trespasses and the demand of his righteousness." But as soon as Yahweh was invested not only with moral attributes but with an ethical character by the Prophets, this partiality for Israel had to disappear from His nature, just as with it disappeared also the reality and necessity of the gods of other nations.<sup>191</sup> Yahweh's scheme of the government of the world now included not only Israel but also Assyria and Babylon, the rods

<sup>187</sup> Exod. 24.9-11; also Num. 11.16 f. It is curious that the Septuagint version should be ascribed to seventy or seventy-two translators—the two being additional numbers like those in the above places of the O.T.

<sup>188</sup> Exod. 34.15-6; Deut. 7.2; Judges 2.2. See Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 403.

<sup>189</sup> Whence the inflictions on Pharaoh (Gen. 12.17) and Abimelech (Gen. 20.4 f.).

<sup>190</sup> Kuenen, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

<sup>191</sup> For the solity of Yahweh, see *Dic. Bi.*, Extra Vol., p. 680.

with which Yahweh had scourged Israel because of the latter's faithlessness to the covenants with Him : He could also punish the non-Israelites or use them as aids to Israel's revival if He so pleased.<sup>192</sup> Yahweh is no longer the 'God of gods' and 'Lord of lords' (Deut. x. 17) but is God (Deut. vii 9) and 'beside Him there is none.'<sup>193</sup>

The only logical conclusion of this position is that Yahweh is the God of the Jews and the Gentiles alike and that not only for Israel but for the whole human race Yahweh alone is God. This would have entailed the bestowal of the full rights of Judaism on all who acknowledged Yahweh as God and also an active enrolment of Gentiles within the fold of the Jewish Church. It appears, however, that just as the non-Aryan tribes of the hills and the plains were slowly absorbed within Hinduism in India without much missionary activity and could generally obtain only an inferior social status, so also the non-Israelites of later times were permitted to follow Jewish religious customs but did not obtain the full rights of spiritual citizenship. The contempt for the Gentiles was quite open and dining with them or entering their houses brought about ceremonial uncleanness. Even the Hellenizing Jews were not free from this anti-Gentilic feeling,<sup>194</sup> and it appears that this contempt was carried over to Christianity itself where the quarrel between the Jewish Christians and the Gentile Christians was fairly acute and the work of St. Paul among the Gentiles was bitterly opposed.<sup>195</sup> No wonder, therefore, that in spite of some proselytism in their midst these did not acquire even the rights of the strangers (*gerim*) or sojourners who lived in close association with the Jews. Thus, though it was permitted to the non-proselyte Gentiles to bring offerings to Yahweh, they had admission only to the outer court of the Temple, much as to a Hindu village god some Indian Musalman might

<sup>192</sup> Isa. 8.9, 10, 12 f; 10. See specially Kuenen, *op. cit.*, p. 124 f.; also Isa. 44.28.

<sup>193</sup> Deut. 4.35, 39; 1 Kings 8.60; 2 Kings 19.15; Isa. 37.16.

<sup>194</sup> *Legacy of Israel*, p. 32.

<sup>195</sup> *Die. Bi.*, III, p. 149.

bring gifts in fulfilment of vows without being allowed entrance into the sanctuary. During the early days of settlement in Canaan Israel took it for granted that other nations had other gods, and Israelite kings contracting mixed marriages took it as a matter of course that their foreign wives should have temples raised to their own gods—a belief which was subsequently worked up into the theory that Yahweh had assigned to the other nations the sun, the moon and the different constellations for their gods. But the concession granted to the heathen neighbours could not be extended, without serious risk, to the sojourners in their own midst,<sup>196</sup> for these would spread their contaminating cult to their Jewish masters, patrons, protectors and friends. Hence the practical necessities of the case demanded that these foreigners in their own midst should be differentially treated. Being originally permitted to act only in menial capacities in the Temple, they were gradually invested with the same rights and duties as the Israelites themselves and subjected to the same laws of cleanliness and purity in the later Priests' Code (as contrasted with the Deuteronomic legislation). Thus no difference existed latterly between Israelites and *gêrim* in the following matters:—"The *gêr* is to participate in the Feast of Weeks (Dt. 16<sup>10f</sup>), of Tabernacles (16<sup>13f</sup>), in the offering of first-fruits (26<sup>11</sup>), the Sabbath rest (5<sup>14</sup>), the tithes (14<sup>23f</sup>), the gleanings of the field, etc. (24<sup>19f</sup>), and he is to have equal justice done to him (24<sup>14</sup>)".<sup>197</sup> In the Priestly Code, established after the drastic reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah, "the *gêr* is placed practically on the same footing as the native Israelite; he enjoys the same rights (Nu. 35<sup>15</sup>; cf. Ezk. 47<sup>22</sup>), and is bound by the same laws, whether civil (Lv. 24<sup>22</sup>), moral and religious (18<sup>26</sup> 20<sup>2</sup> 24<sup>16</sup>; cf. Ezk. 14<sup>7</sup>), or ceremonial (Ex. 12<sup>19</sup>, Lv. 16<sup>29</sup> 17<sup>8</sup> 10 12 13 15 22<sup>18</sup>, Nu 15<sup>14</sup> 26<sup>30</sup> 19<sup>10</sup>); the principle

<sup>196</sup> For the attitude of the Israelites towards foreigners, see *Dic. Bi.*, III, esp. p. 51, art. FOREIGNER.

<sup>197</sup> *Dic. Bi.*, III, pp. 156-7, art. GER. See J. Yahuda, *Law and Life according to Hebrew Thought*, VII. The Status of Strangers.

“ One law there shall be for the home-born and the stranger,” is repeatedly affirmed (Ex. 12 <sup>49</sup>, Lv. 24 <sup>22</sup>, Nu. 9 <sup>14</sup> 15 <sup>15</sup> 16 <sup>29</sup>), the only specified distinctions being that the *gér*, if he would keep the passover (which under no circumstances is the foreigner permitted to do), must be circumcised (Ex. 12 <sup>48</sup>), and that an Israelite in servitude with him may be redeemed before the jubilee (Lv. 25 <sup>48f</sup>), a privilege not granted in the case of the master’s being an Israelite” (Lv. 25 <sup>40f</sup>.) Having lived as exiles twice, namely, in Egypt and in Babylon, the Israelites had a soft corner for the strangers in their midst and conceded to them the right to adopt the Jewish faith; but in relation to foreigners they were almost absolutely exclusive and it is only a prophet like Isaiah that could promise to the heathen a share in the glorious future of the Israelite faith (Is. lvi. 6-8; cf. Zeph. iii. 9). When Israel will have acted as a light to the Gentiles and the servant of the Lord would bring to them His message, Jerusalem shall turn into a house of prayer for all nations and unto Yahweh shall all knees ultimately bow (Is. xlv. 23). ‘ There is no God but Yahweh and Israel is His prophet.’ <sup>198</sup>

That these noble sentiments should be more preached than practised is a fact of history that cannot be ignored or explained away. Whatever tendencies towards universalism might have been present in the Prophets, the Rabbis who succeeded them gradually limited the applicability of ‘ the Fatherhood of God and he sonship of Man ’ to the Jews alone.<sup>199</sup> Judaism thus deliberately excluded the heathens from the salvation of Yahweh which some of the prophets had preached as being destined for all alike. The reason of this is to be sought in the post-exilic emphasis on legalism, which the destruction of the second Temple and the development of mysticism failed to counteract completely. Hinduism affords an instructive parallel in this matter. There too speculative philosophy affirmed the equality of all souls before, or rather their identity in and through, Brahman;

<sup>198</sup> Dic. Bi., III, p. 157.

<sup>199</sup> Abelson, *Jewish Mysticism*, p. 80; p. 96.

but practical religion limited the blessings of salvation to the Hindus alone and latterly resisted the inclusion of non-Hindus within the fold of Hinduism. The domain of Yahweh similarly remained limited to the Jews and the original proselytes.<sup>202</sup> Although the whole development of Judaism from Moses to Malachi was directed towards establishing the authority of Yahweh over the Jews and the Gentiles alike and the equality of all moral individuals before Yahweh,<sup>201</sup> the only solid advance made was that the reality of other gods by the side of Yahweh was denied and idolatry in all forms was banished altogether from the Jewish religion. The Gentiles remained outside the Jewish fold in spite of the fact that Hellenizing Jews were innumerable and Greek philosophy was largely utilised in building up a conception of the operation of God in the world.

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In other directions also the original limitation of Yahweh was sought to be removed but sometimes with equally dubious final results. The original Judaism had no otherworldly gaze<sup>202</sup> and Yahweh's covenant did not at first extend beyond death. Yahweh was originally the god of the living and not of the dead and His punishments and rewards had reference to this life alone. Much of Yahweh's hard dealing with individuals, tribes and races can be explained if we remember that the Jews did not originally believe that Yahweh could pursue the prosperous sinner beyond the grave or reward struggling virtue with post-mortem happiness. The horror of death to a pious Jew consisted in banishment from Yahweh's jurisdiction and realm and in incapacity to praise Him; that is why Hezekiah prays for an extension of his life on earth.<sup>203</sup> The dead became *elohim* in their graves or in Sheol and they were worshipped, appeased and approached by the living for deriving benefit and guidance. It is only gradually that Yahwism replaced this cult of the dead by representing them as being devoid of knowledge and strength, and, about the

<sup>200</sup> *Legacy of Israel*, p. 29.

<sup>201</sup> See Marti, *op. cit.*, pp. 173, 235f.

<sup>202</sup> *Legacy of Israel*, pp. 24, 39.

<sup>203</sup> Isa 38.18-19. Cf. Ps. 90.9; 88.1-6, 11.2; 115.17.



second century B.C., it asserted the jurisdiction of Yahweh over the dead also in the shape of a judgment after death, a resurrection and an immortality.<sup>204</sup> 'To the moral attributes of Deity, to His supreme pity and justice, there are endless references in the Psalter and the Prophets; to the divine omnipresence there are but few.'<sup>205</sup> It was a kingdom won for Yahweh when it began to be believed that He was present not only in the highest heaven but also in the lowest pit.<sup>206</sup> Everywhere Yahweh reigns supreme. This extension of Yahweh's jurisdiction was a direct effect of exile in a land where similar beliefs about the destiny of the departed held sway. But, conversely, a contraction of His realm occurred when, in imitation of the Zoroastrian model, Judaism began to exonerate Yahweh from the creation of evil and ascribed it to Satan, the Semitic counterpart of the Zoroastrian Angro Mainyu.<sup>207</sup> The motive was undoubtedly good, for it was felt that a good and merciful Yahweh could not, consistently with His character, create evil.<sup>208</sup> Eve was tempted by Satan in the garden of Eden, and through him did Sin and Death invade mankind—a conception which has been so graphically described by Milton in his *Paradise Lost*. The peculiar Christian view of redemption through the Logos that took flesh and brought Messianic salvation to mankind was based upon this later Jewish belief of the responsibility of Satan for the fall of Adam.

The idea of the holiness of Yahweh and the sinfulness of man became almost an obsession in

<sup>204</sup> Lods, *op. cit.*, pp. 218 f; also p. 455. This was closely connected with the doctrine of the Messiah whose advent was believed to be imminent in the book of Daniel where the doctrine of individual resurrection is first found.—See Marti, *op. cit.*, p. 229; also p. 235. James Orr in *The Christian View of God and the World* (Appendix to Lecture V. The Old Testament Doctrine of Immortality), p. 200 f., states that the doctrine of resurrection is "one of the very oldest doctrines in the Bible."

<sup>205</sup> *Dic. Bi.*, II, p. 207, art. GOD.

<sup>206</sup> *Ps.* 139.8.

<sup>207</sup> Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 470.

<sup>208</sup> *Ps.* 5.4, "Evil shall not sojourn with thee," was used as a text by the Midrash to dissociate God from evil and to interpret such passages as Gen. 1.5, and 3.16-17 where the pronominal form "he" is substituted for Yahweh.

later Rabbinical literature. He was considered to be so holy that pious Jews were afraid of uttering His name and used a substitute, like *Adonai* or *Elohim*, or a paraphrasis, when reading His name aloud.<sup>209</sup> Even the Rabbis pronounced the name with bated breath and quickly slurred over it.<sup>210</sup> The mystery surrounding the Divine name, which is so often repeated in the Old Testament,<sup>211</sup> was deepened in Rabbinical literature, which began to dabble in the occult lore of its formation out of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet<sup>212</sup> and it became a symbol of Yahweh's transcendental purity. Blessings were invoked on the Divine name whenever it was mentioned just as peace is invoked on Muhammad by the Musalmans whenever his name is uttered. Now, this excessive reverence could have but one effect, namely; to remove God as far as possible from this world of sin and suffering. Hosea had spoken of Yahweh returning to His place till offence was acknowledged<sup>213</sup> and the Song of Songs Rabba had described the successive withdrawals of the Shekinah of God to the ascending tiers of heaven with the increasing sins of men;<sup>214</sup> but, as Abelson points out,<sup>215</sup> "to the old Rabbinic mind there was always a very real glimmering that however all-pervading and all-embracing God may be in an immanental sense, He is yet marked off from the world by some not easily discernible line of separation."

<sup>209</sup> Abelson, *The Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature*, p. 207. See *Dic. Bi.*, II, p. 206.

<sup>210</sup> Abelson, *Jewish Mysticism*, p. 27.

<sup>211</sup> See, for instance, *Exod.* 3.14 and *Judges* 13.18.

<sup>212</sup> Abelson, *Jewish Mysticism*, p. 25; also Ch. V. The Book 'Yetsirah' (p. 98 f.).

<sup>213</sup> *Hosea* 5.15.

<sup>214</sup> The most striking passage in this connection is *Song of Songs Rabba* vi: "The original abode of the Shechinah was.....among men. When Adam sinned it ascended away to the first heaven. With Cain's sin it ascended to the second. With Enoch to the third. With the generation of the Flood to the fourth. With the generation of the Tower of Babel to the fifth. With the Sodomites to the sixth. With the sin of the Egyptians in the days of Abraham, it ascended to the seventh. Corresponding to these, there arose seven righteous men who brought the Shechinah down, back again to earth. These were Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Levi, Kehath, Amram and Moses."—Abelson, *The Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature*, p. 136 (see also *Jewish Mysticism*, p. 98).

<sup>215</sup> Abelson, *The Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature*, p. 38.

Christian writers, who are often unconsciously biased in their estimate of Judaism, like to dwell upon the distinction between the transcendental deity of the Old Testament and the outward observances necessary to please Him, on the one hand, and the pervasive presence of the Christian God and the inwardness necessary to worship Him, on the other. They think that after removing God to transcendental heights Rabbinical Judaism invented a few mechanical devices to bridge the gulf between God and the world. Thus Dummelow observes,<sup>216</sup> "What is called the transcendent view of God became predominant; that is to say, He was so far exalted above the world as to be out of touch or communication with men. He who had formerly tabernacled with His people and spoken familiarly to the prophets, seemed now to dwell in a far-off heaven where no personal intercourse could be had with Him." Now let us hear what a Jew has to say to this charge, for, as I have maintained in connection with Hinduism, it is always good to refer to the followers of a faith for a more correct estimate of the vital significance of dogmas and rituals. Says Dr. Abelson,<sup>217</sup> "A theology which posits a far-off God, separated from man by an unfathomable distance, could never give that large scope to the doctrine of repentance which we find in the pages of the Rabbins. This doctrine is of itself sufficient to stamp Judaism as a religion of the heart. And if mysticism is "religion in its most acute intense, and living stage," then must Rabbinic Judaism hold a foremost place in the category of mystical religions. For few could have realised the Presence of God more acutely, more intensely than the Rabbinic Jew, who aimed at sanctifying even the smallest details of the physical life, because he regarded nothing as being too humble to come within the purview of Him, whose glory fills the universe, and whose word is the mainstay of all."

We may well believe that in later Judaism the problem was to reconcile a Holy God with a sinful world, a God who

<sup>216</sup> J. R. Dummelow, *A Commentary on the Holy Bible*, p. lxvii. See also Harnack, *What is Christianity?*, p. 52.

<sup>217</sup> Abelson, *The Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature*, pp. 15-8.

was far removed and a God who was yet accessible, a God whose form was unknown and a God whose manifestations were yet not infrequent in Israel's history. Yahweh was regarded as having a manifestation in the physical world, and also a manifestation in human minds, in the tribal life of Israel, and even in human history and cosmic happenings. The most notable of these mediating conceptions is the Holy Spirit which later on played such an important part in the Christian doctrine of the Trinity.<sup>218</sup> Although there are numerous references to Spirit and the Spirit of God in the Old Testament and the Apocrypha, it is only in two places (Ps. li. 11 and Is. lxiii. 10, 11) of the Old Testament that the term Holy Spirit occurs: it is only in the Talmud and the Midrash that it is most frequently used. These terms were intended to convey the idea of Divine presence in the world of men and things. When an act of heroism or good government is performed on behalf of Israel, or when the nation receives a physical or spiritual quickening, it is the Spirit of God that is operating. When an individual is possessed with a sudden fit of inspiration or when he acquires a permanent insight into the will of God and a moral inclination, he is drawing his strength and impulse from the Divine Spirit. It is the Spirit of God, again, that brings the world into being, fills it with living and sentient beings, and preserves it in existence and guides its destiny:<sup>219</sup> in this aspect it is called the Wisdom of God which is "a cosmic power, the all-encompassing intelligent will of God manifesting itself in the creation and preservation of the world, and as an eternal and unerring

<sup>218</sup> See Abelson, *The Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature*, Chs. XIV-XXI, for an exhaustive treatment of this subject (esp. p. 198).

Mills remarks (in *Our Own Religion in Ancient Persia*, p. 11): "Ahura Mazda, the Living Lord, the Great Creator (or possibly the 'Wise One'), has a most Bountiful, or most Holy Spirit, who is sometimes identical with him, and there is precisely the same difficulty in distinguishing between Ahura and His Holy (?) Spirit, which meets us in the Semitic when we endeavour to decide positively in the analogous obscurity. (Often we cannot tell whether Yahveh's attribute or His creature is meant)."

<sup>219</sup> In *Zohar* mysticism the *En-Sof* (the Infinite) was regarded as having similar functions.—See Abelson, *Jewish Mysticism*, p. 142 f.

guide and ruler of mankind.”<sup>220</sup> The ever-present Spirit of God began to be conceived in two different ways. In the Old Testament a sensuous presence of Yahweh to Moses, Isaiah and Ezekiel had been alluded to: “God’s Immanence, His accessibility, His nearness, His all-encompassing and all-embracing reality became so deep-rooted a conviction to the minds of individual Rabbis here and there, that the barriers separating the intellectual and emotional aspects of mind broke entirely away, and they saw with the eye, and heard with the ear, sights and sounds from an unseen world, traces of a Presence which impinged upon them, invaded them, filling them with high and divine impulses, raising them to the position of the elect whose state of life is a complete unity of being with God.”<sup>221</sup> The appearance of the Spirit of God as Light or Fire or Sound or a Dove was an article of creed in Rabbinical literature before Christ’s time, and Christianity took it over as a well-known method of Divine manifestation. The mystic Jehuda Ha-Levi (1085-1140) taught in the “Kusari” (Book iv. iii) that “by means of a system of vigorous self-discipline it was always possible for the worthiest spirits among the Israelites to have that degree of communion with God which enabled them to see God by the medium of what is termed ‘Glory’ or ‘Shechinah’ or ‘Kingdom,’ ‘Fire,’ ‘Cloud,’ ‘Image,’ ‘Likeness,’ ‘appearance of the bow’.”<sup>222</sup> Although doubts were sometimes expressed as to whether the manifestation of God was possible outside the Holy Land of Palestine or the Israelite nation, a few bold thinkers conceded that any one could so sanctify his body,

<sup>220</sup> Abelson, *The Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature*, p. 199.

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 213.

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 252.

‘Ten times the Shechinah came down into the world:—at the garden of Eden (Gen. iii. 8); at the time of the Tower (Gen. xi. 5); at Sodom (Gen. xviii. 21); in Egypt (Exod. iii. 8); at the Red Sea (Ps. xviii. 9); on Mount Sinai (Exod. xix. 20); into the Temple (Ezek. xlv. 2); in the pillar of cloud (Num. xi. 25). It will descend in the days of Gog and Magog; for it is said (Zech. xiv. 4) “And His feet shall stand in that day upon the Mount of Olives.”—Aroth d’Rab. Nathan, Ch. 34 (quoted in Hershon, *A Talmudic Miscellany*, p. 145; see *loc. cit.* for the gradual ascents of the Shechinah).

mind and spirit as to be capable of receiving the Holy Spirit of God.<sup>223</sup> The only condition of Divine inspiration was intellectual wisdom, moral richness and physical strength.<sup>224</sup> The stages of spiritual perfection have been thus summarised by R. Phinehas b. Jair (2nd century A.D.): "The Torah leads to carefulness, carefulness to diligence, diligence to cleanliness, cleanliness to abstemiousness, abstemiousness to purity, purity to piety, piety to humility, humility to fear of sin, fear of sin to holiness, holiness to the Holy Spirit, Holy Spirit to the Resurrection of the Dead."<sup>225</sup> The Jews rejected the Christian doctrine of Incarnation as in their religious literature, especially in Rabbinical literature, it was laid down that every one could reach the ideal of Holy Spirit by guiding his faculties aright. Here is a great resemblance between Hinduism and Judaism, for the former also recognises the capacity of each individual soul to realise its potential infinity. Like Hinduism, again, Judaism admitted that legalism and ceremonialism had their social and spiritual value, but that the individual soul could at all times realise its mystic union with

<sup>223</sup> Abelson, *The Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature*. Ch. XXI. Holy Spirit in its relation to Non-Jews; also pp. 299 f., 370. See *Jewish Mysticism*, pp. 4 f, 96; also W. R. Smith, *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, pp. 356-7 in this connection.

<sup>224</sup> Abelson, *The Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature*, p. 247; *Jewish Mysticism*, p. 89.

Maimonides enumerates the following as the essential factors of a prophetic faculty:—(1) Physical strength, so as to endure the strain involved in the moments of ecstatic communion. (2) A training of the intellectual faculties to the highest pitch of perfection. (3) Great imaginative power. This is closely allied with emotion; the vision, etc., that the prophet beholds is (?) the outcome of emotional imagination. (4) Exceptional moral discipline. (5) The absence of all physical, intellectual or moral disturbances. There must be no pain, no sorrow, no feeling of degradation. (6) The will of God, into which an element of the miraculous or unaccountable always enters."

Maimonides rejects the suppositions that God can choose whomsoever He pleases for infusing His spirit and that men by training their intellect to the necessary pitch of perfection by study and other methods can acquire prophetic power. He thinks that in addition to intellectual and moral perfection there must be a Divine inspiration or call to prophecy.—See Abelson, *The Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature*, p. 246 f.

<sup>225</sup> Abelson, *The Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature*, p. 271 f.

God.<sup>226</sup> Prayer took the place of sacrifice in this method of approaching God.<sup>227</sup> In fact, the Essenes seemed to have observed only the Sabbath and to have neglected most of the other prescribed practices of the Jewish religious life.<sup>228</sup>

But there was one thing which the Jews always dreaded and that is the identification of God and man. They had resisted the temptation of divinising their patriarchs (possibly they had humanised the pagan gods into patriarchs) and they had also refused to admit that a unitary God could be partially incarnated on earth.<sup>229</sup> Jewish mysticism could never rise to Upaniṣadic heights, and statements like 'I am Brahman,' 'I and my Father are one,' etc., would have sounded blasphemous to Jewish ears. As Montefiore observes,<sup>230</sup> "It (Jewish Theism) clings to two aspects of God, summed up in the twofold metaphor, which, though a metaphor, yet, as Judaism insists, describes a reality, 'Our Father, our King.' *Abhinu, malkenu*. So Judaism addresses its God, and it refuses to let go either term, either metaphor." Thus while, on the one hand, "Hebrew faith has left to mankind no finer witness than the readiness with which it received and the fullness in which it has transmitted, by prophet as well as by psalmist, the gospel of the Divine participation not only in human sorrow and suffering—in *all our affliction He was afflicted*—but even in shame and trouble of men's guilt, and in spiritual agony for their redemption and holiness,"<sup>231</sup> "the danger of a

<sup>226</sup> Abelson, *The Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature*, p. 285.

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 325.

<sup>228</sup> Abelson, *Jewish Mysticism*, p. 30; *Dic. Bi., Extra. Vol.*, p. 53; *ERE.* v. 396 f.

God in His transcendent holiness seemed to have vanished from the stained land.....The sense of fellowship with Jahweh was broken. Yet His Law and promise were there in written form. In three directions relief was sought: first, by filling up the interspace between God and man with heavenly hierarchies; second, by the formation of quietist circles like the Essenes, who sought, away from the clash of the world's warfare, the lost secret of the ancient fellowship with Jahweh; and third, by the cherishing of apocalyptic dreams, in which the Day of the Lord was seen as the sheer and sudden act of God breaking in upon the course of history.—*ERE.* vii. 508.

<sup>229</sup> *Legacy of Israel*, p. 108.

<sup>230</sup> *Ibid.*, Epilogue, p. 519.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.

degeneration into Pantheism through an identification of the Deity with the world," on the other hand, "is avoided by making the Shechinah or Holy Spirit a possession, a kind of emanation of God."<sup>232</sup> God is a Person and cannot, therefore, be dissipated into an impersonal essence of the world even though His presence is ubiquitous. To solve this difficulty Judaism not only evolved certain phenomenal appearances of Yahweh but even personified them. Although Jewish writers think that the Jewish-Hellenistic 'Wisdom,' the 'Word' of the Fourth Gospel, the 'Memra' of Targumic literature and the 'Shechinah' of the Talmud and Midrashim all point more or less to "the immanent manifestation of Divine Wisdom, Divine Power, Divine Love, Divine Justice,"<sup>233</sup> they are themselves obliged to admit that these were often anthropomorphically viewed as dealing directly with the world so that the holiness and inscrutability of Yahweh might not be compromised by contact with a sinful world.<sup>234</sup> In consonance with this oscillation of thought we find that, on the one hand, God is supposed to create the world through ten agencies which are really His attributes, namely, wisdom, insight, cognition, strength, power, inexorableness, justice, right, love and mercy (and which supplied the basis

<sup>232</sup> Abelson, *The Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature*, p. 368.

<sup>233</sup> Abelson, *Jewish Mysticism*, p. 78; *Immanence of God in Rab. Lit.*, p. 153.

The other personifications are Metatron of the Gaonic-mystical literature, the 'active intelligence' of Gabirol and Maimonides, the 'Ten Sephiroth' of the Kabbalists.—See Abelson, *Immanence of God in Rab. Lit.*, p. 167.

The *Memra* is a personification, almost a hypostatizing, not of the Divine Reason, but of the executive Divine Word.....All bodily appearance or bodily action is ascribed, not to God, but to His *Memra*.....The *Shechinah* differs from the *Memra* as being [originally] impersonal. Prayer and trust are predicated of the one, but not of the other.....The 'Spirit of God' is repeatedly spoken of as the source of inspiration and of revelation.....Besides these intermediate agencies there is the *Messiah* ('Son of Man' in similitudes of Bk. of Enoch), whose function is esp. that of judgment and of the restoration of the chosen people. And there is also the whole celestial hierarchy of *angels*.—*Dic. Bi.*, II, p. 207, art. GOD.

<sup>234</sup> Abelson, *Jewish Mysticism*, p. 71; *Immanence of God in Rab. Lit.*, pp. 231 (the Torah is personified as also the Holy Spirit), 204, 199, 173 n (31) (emanation doctrine to avoid change in the nature of God), pp. 159-60. See esp. Ch. VIII of Book of Proverbs. See Dummelow, *op. cit.*, p. lxviii and p. 332 about Wisdom; also Cheyne, *op. cit.*, p. 38 f.



of the Ten Sefirot of the Kabbalists),<sup>235</sup> and, on the other, He is withdrawn from the world to such an extent that it became necessary to associate with Him certain pre-existent entities to take charge of the creation and guidance of the world.<sup>236</sup> The Babylonian exile familiarised the Jews with the Zoroastrian system of angels and personified abstractions, and it is likely that the tendency to return to the regal conception of Yahweh was accentuated thereby and the Apocalyptic visions and Messianic pictures were modelled on Zoroastrian ideas. It would not be unfair to say that Judaism was so far influenced by Platonism, Gnosticism, Mithraism and Zoroastrianism during the centuries just preceding the birth of Jesus that the immanence of God in the world and His nearness to the Israelites as individuals and as a nation were in some danger of being lost sight of and that the reformation of Jesus originally consisted in emphasising the aspect of the Fatherhood of God as against the aspect of the Kingship which involved the necessity of intermediaries in God's government of the world. It is indeed true that in the Gospel of St. John and in the Epistle to the Hebrews much of this latter-day Jewish belief invaded Christianity also; but Christianity in its original conception must have been directed against the mystical philosophy about a transcendent God and the formalities, associated with the worship of a Heavenly King, as laid down in the books of Law. It must also have taken more earnestly the injunction to bring the nations of the

<sup>235</sup> Abelson, *Jewish Mysticism*, pp. 109, 137 f. The ten Sefirot are the Crown (the dynamic force of En-Sof or Infinite), Wisdom, Intellect (or Intelligence), Compassion (or Greatness), Justice (or Force), Beauty, Victory, Glory, Royalty and Foundation.—*Ibid.*, pp. 140-1; also ERE. ix. 112.

<sup>236</sup> See art. MYSTICISM (Hebrew and Jewish) in ERE. ix. 108 f.

Before the world came into existence the following were created:—(1) the Torah (Prov. viii. 22); (2) the Divine Throne (Ps. xciii. 2); (3) the Temple (Jer. xvii. 12); (4) Paradise (Gen. ii. 8); (5) Hell (Is. xxx. 33); (6) Repentance (Ps. xc. 2-3); (7) the Name of the Messiah (Ps. lxxii. 17); and sometimes also (8) the Patriarchs and (9) Israel (Ps. lxxiv. 2) and (10) the Holy Land (Proverbs viii. 26).—Abelson, *Jewish Mysticism*, p. 70; *Immanence of God in Rab. Lit.*, p. 162, 171 n(25).

world to Yahweh's sanctuary <sup>237</sup> and to bring home to them the message of the Psalter : <sup>238</sup>

“ Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord?

And who shall stand in his holy place?

He that hath clean hands, and a pure heart.”

It certainly did one thing : it proclaimed that the expected Messiah had come not only with a message to mankind but also with a way of life, lived in the constant presence of God, for others to accept and follow.

<sup>237</sup> Ps. 22.27-8.

<sup>238</sup> Ps. 24.3-4.

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## CHAPTER VII

### GOD IN CHRISTIANITY

A variety of reasons makes the study of the original form of Christianity an extremely difficult task. We do not possess an accurate record of Christ's sayings nor was any of the Gospels composed before 60 or 70 A.D. Older abstracts were utilised and expanded,<sup>1</sup> and in the process many of the contemporary religious beliefs managed to effect an entrance. The present Gospels were either selected because they supported these contemporary beliefs or edited with a view to the propagation of certain contemporary ideas. To quote Reinach:<sup>2</sup> "There were a great many writings called Gospels. The Church finally adopted four, guaranteeing their inspiration and absolute veracity, no doubt because they were in favour in four very influential Churches, Matthew at Jerusalem, Mark at Rome or at Alexandria, Luke at Antioch, John at Ephesus." What enabled St. Paul, again, to put his own interpretation on the life and mission of Christ was the fact that the beliefs were even in his time in a state of gristle and each interpreter could put his own ideas into the message of Christ.<sup>3</sup> The result has been that to-day it is difficult to

<sup>1</sup> Reinach, *Orpheus*, p. 229 f., 235 f; *The History of Christianity in Modern Knowledge*, p. 338 f; *Dic. Bi.*, Ext. Vol., p. 5 f; James Moffatt, *The Approach to the New Testament*, p. 19, 41 f.

<sup>2</sup> Reinach, *op. cit.*, p. 232. For the revelatory or inspirational character of the New Testament, see Moffatt, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 78. There were Churches in the second century which read only one gospel, or perhaps two, and these not always any of the gospels which afterwards became canonical. Marcion's churches were content with one gospel, an edition of Luke. There were even churches of a more central type, like the Syrian Church, which for a time preferred a harmony like the Diatessaron to the four canonical gospels.—Moffatt, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

For the *Apocryphal Acts*, see B. H. Streeter, *The Primitive Church*, Lect. I (see also p. 52).

<sup>3</sup> It is highly probable that no one of the Synoptic Gospels was in existence, in the form in which we have it, prior to the death of Paul. And were the docu-

distinguish the religion of Christ and the Christian religion—the *history* of Jesus and the *myth* of Christ, as Reinach puts it.<sup>4</sup> To understand aright the genesis of the complicated literature, now known as the New Testament, it is necessary to remember that it originally aimed at reaching the Jews and latterly the Gentiles also. It had to take note of the leading philosophies and ethical ideas of the time—Greek (Platonic), Gnostic, Judaic (Philonic and Rabbinic) and Roman (Stoic), in formulating its final speculative doctrines and moral ideals. It could not also ignore the Mystery religions<sup>5</sup> which satisfied the spiritual needs of those who had lost faith in the creeds and formalities of their decaying ancestral religions and found in the cult of Dionysos-Zagreus, Attis, Osiris, Adonis or Persephone (based on the conception of a god who could dispense his or her salvation to those who would join mystic rites and communal feasts) an emotional satisfaction of religious needs and the craving for immortality.<sup>6</sup> The latest addition to these cults was Mithraism in which the worshipper was not, as in the worship of Attis and Osiris, identified with the god but Mithras (the Vedic Mitra and the Zoroastrian Mithra) acted as a mediator,<sup>7</sup> saviour and

ments to be taken in strict order of chronology the Pauline Epistles would come before the Synoptic Gospels.—*Christianity etc.*, p. 338. The inclusion of the Pauline epistles in the Christian collection was due to the fact that for the second century Paul was pre-eminently "the apostle."—Moffatt, *op. cit.*, p. 51. See Royce, *The Problem of Christianity*, I, p. xxi.

<sup>4</sup> Reinach, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

<sup>5</sup> Whatever elements Christianity may have assimilated from the contemporary cults, it never followed the mystery-religions by making any secret of its sacred books.—Moffatt, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-5. See pp. 121 and 162 in this connection.

<sup>6</sup> See Franz Cumont, *The Mysteries of Mithra*, pp. 148-8. Mystery associations were founded for the worship of many other deities beside Attis and Dionysos and Osiris and Persephone; we hear of associations which worship as their special deity Zeus, Athena, Apollo, Artemis, Aphrodite, Hermes, Poseidon, Herakles, the Muses, Asklepios, Serapis. For all we know, the great majority of mystery associations had no reference at all to a death of the deity, and represented the god or goddess worshipped to be simply present as invisible guest at the communal feasts.—*Christianity etc.*, p. 100.

<sup>7</sup> For the mediating function of Mithra in Zoroastrianism, see E. Benveniste, *The Persian Religion according to the Chief Greek Texts*, p. 87 f. See also Franz Cumont, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-8.

guide and was worshipped without those orgiastic rites which degraded the Dionysiac, the Phrygian (Attis) and the Egyptian cults. "Mithras-worship had its sacraments with a sufficient resemblance to the Christian sacraments for Christian fathers to regard them as deliberate counterfeits produced by devils. There were lustrations connected with initiation and a communal partaking of bread and a chalice of water; a sign was imprinted upon the forehead of the man admitted to the grade of soldier;<sup>8</sup> the first day of the week was sacred, as the day of the sun."<sup>9</sup> It is not unlikely that when the first few years of missionary activity among the Hebrews alone did not lead to any tangible result, the Apostles turned increasingly to the Gentiles for converts, and the absorption of elements from the beliefs and practices of surrounding paganism, not radically in opposition to the central tenet of Christ's religion, was permitted, practised and possibly encouraged. Thus Rev. C. A. Scott observes,<sup>10</sup> "It was once thought possible to deduce from the various documents of which the New Testament is composed a uniform and homogeneous theology, to which all the various writers, so to say, have subscribed. Closer study has revealed a very different situation. Instead of one type of religious thought common to all the documents we have to begin by recognizing many types, almost as many indeed as are the writers involved.

<sup>8</sup> Unlike Zoroastrianism, Mithras-worship was a definite mystery religion. Its rites and doctrines were disclosed only piecemeal to initiates under vows of secrecy, as they passed upwards through a succession of grades or orders. The highest grade was that of a Father (*pater*); then came the sun-runner (*heliodromus*), the Persian, the Lion, the Soldier, the Concealed (*cryptus*), the Raven. —*Christianity etc.*, p. 103. (See Franz Cumont, *op. cit.*, p. 152 f.)

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 103-4. In one point there seems no doubt that the Church did borrow from Mithraism—the fixing of Christmas on 25th December, the birthday of the "Unconquerable Sun" (p. 104). In some Western inscriptions the 'unconquered Mithras' is identified with the 'unconquered Sun (*Sol invictus*)'; in others Mithras and the Sun appear portrayed as two different personages (p. 101). Mithras-worship did not get its extension westward till the field had already been occupied by Christianity and seems then never to have penetrated far outside the army (p. 114). (See Franz Cumont, *op. cit.*, p. 121: "In reality there were two solar divinities in the Mysteries, one Iranian and the heir of the Persian Hvare, the other Semitic, the substitute of the Babylonian Shamash, identified with Mithra" (see also p. 158 f.)

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 337-8.

And in particular there are three major types, the Synoptic, the Pauline, and the Johannine, along with certain others which may be called minor, as less fully elaborated and less influential upon later thinking. Of these the Epistle of James, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the first Epistle of Peter are representatives.....The Johannine documents may show little internal variety; but the Pauline are marked by certain indications of change or development, and the Synoptic Gospels when compared with one another show even more clearly the successive effects of reflection, experience, and possibly assimilation from other sources.' It is not improbable that when the sayings and doings of Jesus were no more than a floating mass of popular traditions they should be modified unconsciously or deliberately to suit local and contemporary needs in order to win the allegiance of Jews and Gentiles alike, and be reared on the popular philosophies and expectations about a Messianic intermediary among the Jews and a saviour-god among the Gentiles.<sup>11</sup> Divine Trinities also were not unknown in neighbouring religions nor even the Mother and the Child.<sup>12</sup> In due time these ideas too found room in the New Testament—the former first inserted probably in 2 Cor. xiii. 14 and then interpolated in Mat. xxviii. 19.<sup>13</sup>

The great advantage that the New Testament possesses over all other scriptures is that its canon was fixed after contact with contemporary religious and philosophical speculations had enabled it to incorporate the elements necessary to satisfy not only local conditions but also thinking minds of a certain type. We may perhaps go further and assert that a change in the conception of Jesus Christ took place as the appeal of his life and teachings was extended from the Jews to the Gentiles. Although most of the anti-Gentilic passages have disappeared from the New Testament now, a few unhappy expressions serve as rude reminders that

<sup>11</sup> Even the Sermon on the Mount is supposed to have been edited by Luke (as contrasted with Matthew) to attract the Gentiles.—See *Dic. Bi.*, Ext. Vol., p. 8.

<sup>12</sup> Jameson, *The Legend of the Madonna*, p. xxii.

<sup>13</sup> *Dic. Bi.*, II, p. 213, art. GOD; but see Ext. Vol., p. 308, art. TRINITY.

possibly the original message was primarily, if not exclusively, designed to suit the ears of a Jewish audience.<sup>14</sup> There is evidence to show that originally conversion was limited to the Jews and their proselytes, and that circumcision and keeping of the Law of Moses were demanded of all converts. To St. Paul must belong the credit not only of admitting into the fold Gentiles, like the Roman Cornelius, who had not passed through the Synagogue, but also of dispensing with the necessity of circumcision, as in the case of the Greek Titus. The Judaizers, however, opposed him all along and put him on his mettle to defend his actions in spirited epistles;<sup>15</sup> but even Paul believed that "only Christians who were Jews by birth were the good olive tree, while the Gentile Christians were only grafts from the wild olive tree," and he taught that the Jewish Christians should continue to observe the Law of Moses even though it had been abolished by the new covenant with God, established through the atoning death of Christ on the Cross.<sup>16</sup> The Ebionites, who denied the divinity of Christ and rejected St. Paul as an apostate, and the Nazarenes who made a distinction between Jewish and Gentile Christians in so far as the observance of the whole Mosaic Law was concerned, may be regarded as representing the Jewish view of Christ.<sup>17</sup> We may very well believe that the importance

Dhirendranath Chowdhury in his *In Search of Jesus Christ* (p. 4) goes so far as to assert that "the contributions of the Krishna cum Buddha cults to the evolution of Christianity from long before the Christian era cannot now be reasonably challenged." See in this connection Royce, *op. cit.*, p. 332 f; Streeter, *The Buddha and the Christ*, Lect. 2.

<sup>14</sup> In John 17.9 Christ even says: "I pray not for the world, but for those whom thou hast given me." See, however, Moffatt, *op. cit.*, p. 33 f. He admits however that "the mission to the Greeks at Antioch was critical" and that "these innovators were not led by any apostle, nor, so far as we know, did they possess any explicit word of Jesus which warranted them in undertaking such a revolutionary campaign" (p. 100). See Arthur Levett, *A Martian examines Christianity*, p. 54.

<sup>15</sup> See ERE. vii. 609 f, art. JUDAIZING; also Streeter, *Prim. Ch.*, pp. 35-38; p. 44 f, p. 56.

<sup>16</sup> For the use of the term 'covenant' in the Last Supper instead of the usual word 'kingdom' by Christ, see Moffatt, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-3; also p. 36; for later interpretation, p. 61 f. For the development of the term 'New Testament,' see *Ibid*, p. 54 f.

<sup>17</sup> Bethune-Baker, *Early History of Christian Doctrine*, p. 62 f. See also B. H. Streeter, *The Primitive Church*, p. 8.

and influence of Marcion among the Gentiles, on the other hand, lay in the fact that he absolutely rejected Judaism and all historical beginnings of Christianity; accepted St. Paul as the true Apostle in so far as he opposed the Jewish Law; and preached that, as compared with the good God that Christ revealed, the just God of the Jews "was the author of evil works, bloodthirsty, changeable—far from perfect, and ignorant of the highest things, concerned with his own peculiar people only, and keeping them in subjection by means of the Law and the terror of breaking it."<sup>18</sup> These conflicts of views show that the nature and message of Christ were not understood in a uniform sense by the primitive Church and that, as among the followers of Socrates, there was room for genuine differences of opinion. We may presume that the Synoptic Gospels, which were supposed to give an account of Christ's life, ministry and utterances, underwent the greatest amount of retouching at the hands of the finally victorious party just as the Old Testament had undergone revision at the hands of the Deuteronomists and the authors of the Priestly Code, and that necessary omissions and interpolations were effected to present as coherent a canon as was possible in the circumstances. Thus, even if Jesus be an historical personage, it would be risky to affirm that the New Testament gives a verbatim report of all his speeches.<sup>19</sup> This remark applies even to the Sermon on the Mount, for scholars are not agreed as to whether Matthew or Luke gives a more accurate description of what Jesus actually said on the occasion or even whether Jesus delivered the Sermon at all.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Bethune-Baker, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

<sup>19</sup> See Moffatt, *op. cit.*, p. 151, in this connection.

<sup>20</sup> See art. SERMON ON THE MOUNT in *Dic. Bi., Ext. Vol.*, p. 11; also Arthur Levett, *A Martian examines Christianity*, pp. 47, 74.

These (the first three) Gospels are not, it is true, historical works any more than the fourth; they were not written with the simple object of giving the facts as they were; they are books composed for the work of evangelisation. Their purpose is to awaken a belief in Jesus Christ's person and mission; and the purpose is served by the description of his deeds and discourses, as well as by the references to the Old Testament.—Harnack, *What is Christianity?*, p. 21.

The conviction that Old Testament prophecy was fulfilled in Jesus' history had a disturbing affect on tradition.—*Ibid.*, p. 241. For a defence of consulting



In fact, the New Testament teachings may very well be regarded as summaries of current ethical maxims and of moral principles originally embedded in larger discourses of Jesus or scattered among his different sermons. There is an obvious advantage in this procedure, for it reduces the size of a scripture and enables the hearer to remember more easily the broad principles of spiritual life and of ethical conduct. We may point, as an illustration, to the analogous case of the Bhagavadgītā: its popularity too depends upon the fact that it summarises the spiritual teachings of the earlier Brāhmanical sacred books and is, like the New Testament, put forward as the message of a single teacher.<sup>21</sup> It is also probable that what has been regarded as a gradual consciousness of his own mission by Jesus is really a development in the conception of his nature and mission in the minds of his followers, who expected him originally to function as a temporal saviour<sup>22</sup> and only after his crucifixion began to appreciate and expound the spiritual significance of the Messianic kingdom.

It is necessary to make these remarks because the Christian conception of God is inextricably bound up with a proper understanding of the nature of Christ and because the heretical systems were mostly anathematised on their Christology.<sup>23</sup> It is not unlikely that the first Christians realised the importance of adhering to the rabbinical speculations about divine manifestations which would simultaneously ensure the uniqueness of Christ as a prophet and a messiah in one<sup>24</sup> and satisfy the

the O. T. prophecies in elucidation of the facts of Christ's life and ministry, see Moffatt, *op. cit.*, pp. 85 f., 165.

<sup>21</sup> W. D. Mackenzie points out (ERE. vii. 508) that parallels to many of the features of Christ's teaching can be found in many quarters. "But in the teaching of Jesus they acquire unique significance for three facts: first, from their being unified in the thought of one mind, as they are nowhere else; second, from the exclusion of any alloy of formalism, worldliness, superstition or mere ceremonialism; third, from the fact that they evidently express, and find their unity and power in, His own religious experience and moral character."

<sup>22</sup> Mat. 20.21.

<sup>23</sup> The Gospel, as Jesus proclaimed it, has to do with the Father only and not with the Son.—Harnack, *What is Christianity?*, p. 147 (see also p. 150).

<sup>24</sup> See Harnack, *What is Christianity?*, p. 134, 135 f.

Gentile craving for a plurality in godhead and a saviour god. As a matter of fact, the Cappadocian theology commended its speculations to the thought of the time by an attempt to show that "the Christian doctrine of the Trinity was the mean between Judaism on the one hand and Hellenism on the other (Basil and Gregory of Nyssa)."<sup>25</sup> So the process of hypostasis was pushed farther than in Jewish writings of the pre-Christian era and in Platonic speculations, and Christ was transmuted into the central figure of a cosmic drama, the opening scene of which was laid in the Garden of Eden, where the first parents of man disobeyed the divine injunction through the machinations of Satan, and the last scene in heaven, where the risen Christ sat at the right hand of God, judging individuals by the degree of their acceptance of the message of salvation preached by him during his incarnation as Jesus. A heavenly pre-existence<sup>26</sup> for him could be easily defended even on Jewish presuppositions: but there was apparently a difference of opinion as to whether that pre-existence was divine or human—even St. Paul refers to him in a solitary passage (I Cor. xv. 47) as the second man from heaven<sup>27</sup> although his general position is that Christ was the 'Son of God' and truly divine. The books of Isaiah and Daniel, on which much of the original Christology was based, told respectively of the Servant of the Lord<sup>28</sup> and the Divine Ruler and Judge:<sup>29</sup> possibly these two traditions were combined to form the picture of the suffering Christ, the Son of Man, and the risen Lord, the Son of God. Christ sought out the sinner to redeem him just as God had sent down Christ to redeem the sinful human race: so far then as spontaneous grace was concerned Christ could very well say that he who had seen him had seen the Father.

<sup>25</sup> ERE, iii. 214.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. John 8.58: Before Abraham was, I am. See Pringle-Pattison, *Studies in the Philosophy of Religion*, p. 191 f (Christology of the original disciples was one of apotheosis, that of St. Paul one of incarnation).

<sup>27</sup> The first man is Adam. For a discussion of this passage, see Orr, *The Christian View of God and the World*, p. 220 f.

<sup>28</sup> Is. 42. 1 f; also 9.6,7.

<sup>29</sup> Dan. 7.13, 14.

Possibly, there was one other motive involved in the deification of Christ. To a Jew religious law could come only from God, and by religious law a Jew understood not only rules of spiritual and moral life but also socio-religious prescriptions and ceremonial observances. Christ professed to teach the Jews the god of their own ancestors—the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; but unless he were God Himself, he could not possibly abrogate or modify existing religious practices and teach a new method of worshipping Him.<sup>30</sup> The only logical conclusion of this position is that there could be no essential distinction between God and Christ and that the historical Jesus was in fact the incarnation of the eternal Christ who was consubstantial with God Himself. Those who preached docetic doctrines and those who regarded Christ as merely human were equally guilty of heresy,<sup>31</sup> for only the real God could preach a new message of salvation. It was a most vital question with the Church whether Christ was of the same substance with God or only of similar substance with Him and whether he had one nature and will or two natures and wills, human and divine, and if the latter, how the two were related and also whether the humanity was brought from heaven or assumed on earth. The final position that the primitive Church assumed is best summarised in the words of Martineau<sup>32</sup> who points out that the term ‘Son of

<sup>30</sup> This explains the similarities between Mosaic revelation and the message of Christ. The Sermon on the Mount was modelled on the revelation at Sinai; the forty days’ fast on forty days’ journey through the wilderness; the gift of tongues of his disciples on law-giving in seventy languages at Sinai (a rabbinical tradition).

<sup>31</sup> See *Religious Foundations*, p. 16; ERE. iv. 832.

<sup>32</sup> *The Seat of Authority in Religion*, pp. 428-9, quoted in Orr, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

Martineau summarises the views of the Unitarian Church, to which he belongs, in the following words: “As objective reality, as a faithful representation of our invisible and ideal universe, it (the Messianic theology) is gone from us, gone, therefore, from our interior religion, and become an outside mythology. From the Person of Jesus, for instance, everything official, attached to Him by evangelists or divines, has fallen away; when they put such false robes on Him, they were but leading Him to death. The pomp of royal lineage and fulfilled prediction, the prerogative of King, of Priest, of Judge, the advent with retinue of angels on the clouds of heaven, are to us mere deforming investitures, misplaced, like court dresses, on the ‘spirits of the just,’ and He is simply the Divine

God,' applied to the Word of the Fourth Gospel, can be understood only in one way. Says he, "The oneness with God which it means to mark is not such resembling reflex of the Divine thought and character as men or angels may attain, but identity of essence, constituting Him not God-like alone, but God. Others may be children of God in a moral sense; but by this right of elemental nature, none but He; He is, herein, the only son; so little separate, so close to the inner Divine life which He expresses, that He is in the bosom of the Father. This language undoubtedly describes a great deal more than such harmony of will and sympathy of affection as may subsist between finite obedience and its infinite Inspirer; it denotes two natures homogeneous, entirely one; and both so essential to the Godhead that neither can be omitted from any truth you speak of it.....It was one and the same Logos that in the beginning was with God, who in due time appeared in human form, and showed forth the Father's pure perfections in relation to mankind, who then returned to His eternal life, with the spiritual ties unbroken which He brought from His finished work." To such a God-man the ordinary methods of birth and death are an impossibility—so Immaculate Conception<sup>33</sup> and Bodily Resurrection are logical corollaries of the manifestation of this Divine Being. So also "the whole apostolic conception of Jesus as

Flower of humanity, blossoming after ages of spiritual growth—the realised possibility of life in God.....All that has been added to that real historical scene,—the angels that hang around His birth, and the fiend that tempts His youth; the dignities that await His future,—the throne, the trumpet, the assize, the bar of judgment; with all the apocalyptic splendours and terrors that ensue,—Hades and the Crystal Sea, Paradise and the Infernal Gulf, nay, the very boundary walls of the Kosmic panorama that contains these things, have for us utterly melted away, and left us amid the infinite space and the silent stars.' (Loss and Gain in Recent Theology, pp. 14, 15, quoted in Orr, *op. cit.*, pp. 392-3.)

See the paper on *The Unitarians* by H. W. Crosskey in *The Religious Systems of the World*, pp. 602-19, for a summary of Unitarian beliefs.

<sup>33</sup> The apocryphal *Protevangelium of James* gave an account of the miraculous birth and espousal of Virgin Mary which ultimately led to her adoration as the Queen of Heaven.—See *Christianity etc.*, p. 330. See also A. Levett, *op. cit.*, p. 80 f, for other virgin births.

For an historical account of the worship of Virgin Mary as the Mother of God (*Theotokos*), see Jameson, *The Legend of the Madonna*, p. xxi; G. C. Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion*, Vol. I, Chs. IX and X (also Appendix 19).

Risen Saviour and Lord was utterly inconsistent with any thought of His own guilt and need of pardon or redemption;''<sup>34</sup> hence Christ was regarded as absolutely sinless.

But speculation did not stop with ascribing to Christ a heavenly pre-existence and a bodily ascension, nor did the Messianic function remain limited to providing a willing sacrifice for the atonement of man's sins and a heavenly intercessor at the bar of Divine judgment.<sup>35</sup> In the last two or three centuries before the Christian era a fairly big literature, mostly collected now under apocryphal and apocalyptic writings, had grown up, voicing forth Israel's faith in a heavenly 'Son of God' or 'Son of Man' and in a Messiah who would bring back its past glory and rule over the whole earth.<sup>36</sup> To the Son of God was assigned the right of final judgment; and with the Messiah was also to return the Holy Spirit to inspire again the prophets of Israel. The other intermediaries like the Wisdom, the Angel and the Word were identified with and ultimately set aside in favour of a supreme Mediator who is the 'first-born' of God and even 'Christ the Lord;'; they were also often identified with the Holy Spirit and He is described as coming with 'Christ the Lord' who appears in wisdom of the spirit and righteousness and power.<sup>37</sup> There was a marked tendency towards hypostatizing these beings, and thus the uncompromising monotheism of the Jews was

<sup>34</sup> ERE. vii. 509.

<sup>35</sup> Mat. 10.32-3.

Contrasting Christ with the Levitical high priest, the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews declares that "no defilement unfitted Christ for His sacred ministry. As a Son, he was perfected for evermore, and had no need either to offer for His own sins or to repeat His sacrifice made once for all when He offered up Himself. B. F. Westcott shows that the fulfilment of the Levitical type by Christ takes three forms: (1) He intercedes for men as their present representative before God (He. 7.25 f; 9.24); (2) He brings man's prayers to God (He. 13.15); (3) He secures access for man to God (He. 4.16; 10.19 f)."—ERE. vii. 184, art. INTERCESSION.

<sup>36</sup> See *Dic. Bi.*, Ext. Vol., p. 308 f for references.

Wernle thinks that "the choice by Jesus of the three titles, Messiah, Son of God, and Son of Man, 'from the first turned out to be the misfortune of the new religion'." (ERE. vii. 507.) See Moffatt, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

<sup>37</sup> *Dic. Bi.*, Ext. Vol., p. 308; also Orr, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

moving towards "a doctrine of distinctions interior to the Divine essence;" and, in the development of the doctrine, the plural form 'Elohim' and Yahweh's consulting the angels or a heavenly family were utilised to relieve the blank monadism of the divine nature. It appears, therefore, that most of the elements that went to form the basis of the Christian doctrine of Messiah (and of Trinity) were in the air,<sup>38</sup> and what we get in the New Testament is a more or less organised picture of these ideas with the conception of the Messiah assuming human existence—of the Word becoming flesh—superadded. For this last the prophetic passages about a virgin (interpreted to mean not a young woman married for the first time but a woman who has known no man) being with a child and the suffering servant of the Lord<sup>39</sup> were found extremely useful. In due time Christ was conceived as existing from all eternity with God, as responsible for the creation of all things, as revealing the nature of God by his love, his sinless conscience and his redemptive act of sacrifice on the Cross, as acting both as intercessor and judge on the Day of Judgment and as returning in glory and establishing for ever the kingdom of God. The Nicene Creed is a fair summary of the final claims put forward on behalf of Jesus: "one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father, only-begotten, that is of the substance of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, of one substance with the Father, by whom all things were made, both those in heaven and those on earth: who for us men and for our salvation came down

<sup>38</sup> "Such terms as Redemption, Baptism, Grace, Faith, Salvation, Regeneration, Son of Man, Son of God, Kingdom of Heaven, were not, as we are apt to think, invented by Christianity, but were household words of Talmudical Judaism. No less loud and bitter in the Talmud are the protests against lip-serving, against making the law a burden to the people, against 'laws that hang on hairs,' against Priests and Pharisees. That grand dictum, 'Do unto others as thou wouldst be done by,' is quoted by Hillel, at whose death Jesus was ten years of age, not as anything new, but as an old and well-known dictum, that comprised the whole Law."—Emanuel Deutsch, quoted by Bettany in *Judaism and Christianity* (1892), pp. 101-2.

<sup>39</sup> Bettany, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-3; also p. 61, n.1 for the Messianic foreshadowings in the Psalms. See also Moffatt, *op. cit.*, p. 24, 94. See Levett, *op. cit.*, p. 25

and was made flesh, and lived as Man among men, suffered, and rose the third day, ascended into heaven and is coming to judge the quick and the dead." When deification had proceeded so far it was difficult to keep God and Christ entirely distinct and the monotheistic motive, which was never abandoned seriously, could only lead to the assimilation of Christ to God. So Christ claims to be one with his Father<sup>40</sup> and preaches that he who has seen him has seen the Father and that he is in the Father and the Father is in him; and, "while citing Old Testament Messianic sayings, He sets Himself in the place of Jahweh—*e.g.*, Mt 11<sup>41</sup> = Is 35<sup>3</sup> 61<sup>1</sup>, Lk 4<sup>17</sup> = Is 61<sup>1</sup>, Lk 7<sup>27</sup> = Mal 3<sup>1</sup>." We are back, in other words, to that familiar mode of thinking in which the apotheosis of the prophet plays an important part, only that the process is here covered up by the assumption that he had a heavenly pre-existence and that he only descended on earth to perform a redemptive act of grace. The position is thus intermediate between a full-fledged incarnation of the deity, such as we met with in Hinduism, and a deification of the prophet, as was done by Buddhism.

It may very well be asked if the original picture of Jesus is not that of a teacher after the manner of the old Jewish prophets and if the Synoptic Gospels do not represent a transition to the aspect of Divinity.<sup>41</sup> Thus Scott remarks,<sup>42</sup> "It is of great significance that of the two earliest attempts to collect what was remembered about Jesus, one (Q) appears to have recorded one miracle only (if that); otherwise (apart from the narrative of the Passion, if that were included), it is wholly occupied with the discourses of Jesus." The *Didache*, in its two titles 'Teaching of the Twelve Apostles' and

<sup>40</sup> As against John 10.30 (I and my Father are one) we have John 14.28 (My Father is greater than I). In the tenth chapter we have within nine verses (30-38) three slightly different wordings: 'I and my Father are one,' 'I am the Son of God,' and 'The Father is in me and I in Him.' This last is repeated in the fourteenth chapter (10,11) although the first is implied also (7).

<sup>41</sup> See Streeter and others, *Foundations*, III. The Historic Christ (esp. p. 80 f).

<sup>42</sup> *Christianity etc.*, p. 346.

'Teaching of the Lord through the Twelve Apostles to the Gentiles,' also limits itself mostly to an exposition of the essentials of Christ's message and the method of government of the incipient Church, and there the itinerant prophets and teachers take precedence over the local bishops and deacons.<sup>43</sup> Christianity is here expressed in forms determined by Judaism;<sup>44</sup> but as Christianity begins to develop on Greek and Roman soil, "the ministry of the Word is thrust into the background and the Sacraments usurp the primary place,"<sup>45</sup> and very likely an alteration in the conception of the nature of Christ in the meantime was responsible for this change.<sup>46</sup> Scott remarks,<sup>47</sup> "The Christology of the Synoptic Gospels comprises two distinguishable elements. There is the record of what may be called the spontaneous revelation of the character and nature of Jesus, culminating in certain glimpses of His own consciousness regarding Himself;<sup>48</sup> and there is the evidence, partly direct and partly indirect, as to the interpretation which was put upon all they knew concerning Him by those who formed the inner circle of His disciples. What these Gospels thus provided is not a Christology so much as some of the materials for a Christology, together with certain incipient forms into which these incomplete materials provisionally crystallised." Do we owe this transformation of a prophetic Jesus into a divine Jesus to St. Peter, and were the keys of the kingdom of heaven a reward for thus elevating Jesus to the rank of God? "Now when Jesus came into the parts of Caesarea Philippi, he asked his disciples, saying, Who do men say that the Son of man is? And they said, Some say John the Baptist; some, Elijah: and others,

<sup>43</sup> Streeter and others, *Foundations*, p. 388; Moffatt, *op. cit.*, p. 106; see Streeter, *Primitive Church*, pp. 77 f, 145, and 149 f.

<sup>44</sup> *Dic. Bi.*, Ext. Vol., p. 448, art. DIDACHE.

<sup>45</sup> *Foundations*, p. 388; Moffatt, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-6.

<sup>46</sup> Harnack speaks of Jesus in the following terms: "This feeling, praying, working, struggling and suffering individual is a man who in the face of his God also associates himself with other men."—*What is Christianity?*, pp. 129-30.

<sup>47</sup> *Christianity etc.*, p. 346.

<sup>48</sup> For a discussion of the self-consciousness of Jesus, see Orr, *op. cit.*, Lect. VI. Appendix (p. 248 f); also ERE. vii. 508 f; Moffatt, *op. cit.*, p. 159 f.



Jeremiah, or one of the prophets. He saith unto them, But who say ye that I am? And Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jonah: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I also say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock<sup>49</sup> I will build my church; and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it. I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou<sup>50</sup> shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. Then charged he the disciples that they should tell no man that he was the Christ."<sup>51</sup> To quote Dummelow,<sup>52</sup> "The other apostles had by this time attained to the conviction that Jesus was the Messiah, but only Peter had made the great venture of faith which is implied in the acknowledgment of the divinity of Christ." Thus the Christ who is made to say in the right Jewish fashion, "Why callest thou me good? none is good, save one, even God,"<sup>53</sup> ultimately assumes all the titles of God and receives the homage of mankind as the Saviour and the Lord.<sup>54</sup> And he who had said, "I came not to judge the world, but to save

<sup>49</sup> The Roman Catholic Launoy reckons that seventeen Fathers regard Peter as the rock; forty-four regard Peter's confession as the rock; while eight are of opinion that the Church is built on all the Apostles.—Dummelow, *op. cit.*, p. 681.

<sup>50</sup> But see John 20.22-23; Mat. 18.18-20. See Streeter, *Prim. Ch.*, p. 60.

<sup>51</sup> Mat. 16.13-20. Mark 8.27-9 and Luke 9.18-20 simply refer to Peter's confession without the promises of Jesus. For an instructive discussion of the episode, see Dummelow, *op. cit.*, p. 681.

<sup>52</sup> Dummelow, *op. cit.*, p. 681.

<sup>53</sup> Mark 10.18; Luke 18.19.

It is interesting to note that Matthew who records Peter's confession about the divinity of Christ omits (19.17) to mention God specifically in connection with the episode. See Pringle-Pattison, *Studies in Ph. of Rel.*, p. 164 f.

<sup>54</sup> See *Religious Foundations*, pp. 21-2.

For a list of passages embodying Jesus' claims, see Basanta Coomar Bose, *Christianity*, p. 66 f. Moffatt points out, among other things, that the rise of the term "Lord" as applied to Jesus is by no means so obvious and plain as some text-books suggest (*op. cit.*, p. 203).

the world,"<sup>55</sup> was raised to the position of one who would judge the quick and the dead.<sup>56</sup>

We reach now a point where the Jewish conception of a transcendent God is counteracted by the Christian belief in a God who walked on earth and exercised all divine functions. Miracles are performed to signalise his entry into earthly existence; water turns into wine, fishes get into nets and loaves and fishes are multiplied at his wish;<sup>57</sup> the diseased are healed, the blind receive their sight, the dumb speak, the paralytic walk, and even the dead are raised; the sea fails to drown him and the winds and waves are rebuked by him into silence; evil spirits leave their victims and even fig trees wither at his word of command,<sup>58</sup> and finally he ascends bodily to heaven after he had been in the grave for three days.<sup>59</sup> The assimilation to God proceeds further. The prophets of old, and even John the Baptist, had called the people to repentance; but Christ assumed the right to forgive the sinner, which the Jews had reserved for God alone. With the assumption of this Divine right all resemblance to ordinary mortals in respect of relation to God the Father naturally ceased. If the Sermon on the Mount represents

<sup>55</sup> John 12.47; 1 John 2.1.

<sup>56</sup> 2 Tim. 4.1.

<sup>57</sup> For rabbinical and other parallels of these feats, see Moffatt, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-33.

<sup>58</sup> W. H. Pinnoek, *An Analysis of New Testament History* (1878), pp. 320-1; *Religious Foundations*, p. 17; also Harnack, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30.

<sup>59</sup> For any one who reflects, there can be little doubt the appearances which convinced the original disciples of their Master's continued life and activity were, in point of fact, visions of the same nature as St. Paul records in his own case.—Pringle-Pattison, *Studies in Ph. of Rel.*, p. 182.

This series of visions lasted for some time ("forty days" is, of course, a round symbolical number), and the affairs of the divine kingdom are probably the interests and prospects of the new messianic era, as we see from the context (Acts i. 2-3). But later tradition seized upon this tale for its own purposes. The forty days were extended to eighteen months and even twelve years in order to allow time for the communication of a vast esoteric doctrine to the apostles.—Moffatt, *op. cit.*, p. 190. It is interesting to note that Mahāyāna Buddhism also claims to derive its origin from similar esoteric teachings of the Master not to be found in the Hinayāna texts. See E. J. Thomas, *The History of Buddhist Thought*, Ch. XIV; also Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, p. 229.

anything like the original position of Jesus,<sup>60</sup> we can understand why there alone the expression 'Our Father' should find a place in the Lord's Prayer.<sup>61</sup> Once Christ was raised to the divine plane, his Father and the Father of the Apostles or of the people at large could not be conceived in identical terms; the unique relationship of Christ to God, on account of which God reveals Himself completely to and through him,<sup>62</sup> was distinguished both from the relationship of the believers and disciples to God and from the sonship of the rest of mankind, including "the unthankful and the evil," to Him. While it was not denied that the individual soul could enter into direct communion with God, it was affirmed at the same time that it could do so only "as a member of the kingdom of His Son."<sup>63</sup> No wonder, therefore, that St. Paul's exhortation to pray for those who were outside the Christian fold, so that they might "come to the knowledge of the truth" (I Tim. 2.1-4), should be practically ignored and that neither in Justin Martyr (*circa* 150 A.D.) nor in the *Didache* should be found any trace of liturgical intercession for any one outside the

<sup>60</sup> The Sermon seems to have been delivered almost immediately after the appointment of the Twelve Apostles. The Gospel of Matthew agrees with that of Luke in locating the Sermon on the Mount in the first half of Jesus' ministry in Galilee, although Matthew places it somewhat nearer to the beginning of that period.....But on any chronological hypothesis the discourse stands about half-way between the beginning of Jesus' public work and His crucifixion.—*Dic. Bi.*, Ext. Vol., pp. 2-3, art. SERMON ON THE MOUNT. (But see Note 20 above.)

<sup>61</sup> T. von Haering finds in the use of the words 'Our' and 'us' in the Lord's Prayer a justification for belief in intercession (*ERE.* vii, 383). But a more natural explanation is that the prayer was meant to be used in a congregation of the faithful and perhaps recited in a chorus where the plural form would be the most natural.

<sup>62</sup> All things have been delivered unto me of my Father: and no one knoweth the Son save the Father; neither doth any know the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him.—Mat. 11.27.

(This passage does not match very well with the one preceding where God is addressed by Jesus.) See also John 3.18: He that believeth on him is not judged: he that believeth not hath been judged already, because he hath not believed on the name of the only begotten Son of God. See *Dic. Bi.*, II, p. 209, art. GOD.

<sup>63</sup> Orr, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

Church,<sup>64</sup> thus establishing once more the triumph of the spirit of Jewish exclusiveness from which primitive Christianity does not seem to have completely extricated itself.<sup>65</sup>

There were, however, two elements in the Christian conception of God which were bound to give it an advantage over Judaism. The Jews had indeed attempted to develop the conception of the immanence of God in a number of ways, but except in the conception of the Holy Spirit, which perennially inspired men ethically and spiritually, they had not succeeded in establishing the indwelling of the deity in the world. Christianity did not indeed abandon altogether the casual manifestation (theophany) of a transcendent God through such visible symbols as a dove<sup>66</sup> or a tongue of fire; but in preaching that the Divine Messiah had come down to dwell among men as Man, it definitely raised the dignity of human life and provided for men's participation in divine life through Jesus Christ the God-man.<sup>67</sup> It did something more. The Old Testament had not speculated very much about the motive of Divine manifestation, although it had a general theory that God manifested Himself whenever the needs of righteousness demanded it and also when some good to Israel was intended by Him. That God incarnated Himself through Jesus to redeem the sinner; that what punishment He in His justice was obliged to inflict on man He wished to take away in His mercy through the sacrifice of Jesus so that men might not have to pay the wages of sin, which is death, but might enjoy eternal life;<sup>68</sup> that God did not wait for the disappearance of sin through human effort before ushering in His

<sup>64</sup> ERE. vii. 385, art. INTERCESSION (Liturgical).

<sup>65</sup> The New Testament basis for this would be John 17.9: I pray not for the world, but for them whom thou hast given me; for they are thine.

<sup>66</sup> Canon Lindsay Dewar suggests that the true meaning of the dove-symbol is to be found in the fact that the Hebrew word for 'dove' is Jonah and that Jonah who lived for three days in the whale's belly was a sign of Christ himself who was to be in the grave for a similar period.—See *Imagination and Religion*, p. 58.

<sup>67</sup> See J. Caird, *The Fundamental Ideas of Christianity*, II, p. 104 (also 114).

<sup>68</sup> This statement does not exhaust the entire theory of Christian atonement. W. Adams Brown in ERE. v. 650 thus summarises the matter: "Whether we consider the Atonement from the point of view of its nature, its object, its

Kingdom on earth—the belief in these gracious acts of God marked a definite advance upon the Jewish prayer for the forgiveness of sins and the Jewish belief that the removal of sin was a pre-condition of the advent of the Divine Kingdom. The institution of the Day of Atonement,<sup>69</sup> when the Jewish nation as a whole confessed its sins before Yahweh through the High Priest, “ever held before the people’s eyes the mysterious connection of forgiving love with awful justice;” but that Yahweh would himself condescend to provide a better atonement than goats and bulls out of His love for the world and thus hasten the advent of His own kingdom on earth the Jews did not think it possible. To the repentant sinner and to those who doubted the possibility of winning Yahweh’s salvation through individual effort the call of Christ—“Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall

necessity, or the means by which it is made practically effective in men’s lives, we find differences of views so striking as to make any attempt at harmony seem hopeless. The atoning character of Christ’s death is now found in its penal quality as suffering, now in its ethical character as obedience. It is represented now as a ransom to redeem men from Satan, now as a satisfaction due to the honour of God, now as a penalty demanded by His justice. Its necessity is grounded now in the nature of things, and, again, is explained as the result of an arrangement due to God’s own good pleasure or answering His sense of fitness. The means by which its benefits are mediated to men are sometimes mystically conceived, as in the Greek theology of the Sacrament, sometimes legally, as in the Protestant formula of imputation; and still, again, morally and spiritually, as in the more personal theories of recent Protestantism.” (For *Imputation*, see ERE. vii. 180).

He notices five types of interpretation of Christ’s death (ERE. v. 641 f): (1) That it is a fulfilment of OT prophecy (Act 3.18); (2) that it is the establishment of a new covenant between God and his disciples through the sacrifice of his own life-blood (Mat. 26.28; Heb. 9.11-28); (3) that it is a ransom paid to deliver men from sin (Mark 10.45; 1 Cor. 6.20; 7.23; 1 Pet. 1.18 f; Tit. 2.14; Eph. 1.14); (4) that it is the expiation demanded by Divine justice for the wilful sin of humanity with which Christ identifies himself and for which he becomes a substitute (of which the OT originals are 1 Kings 2.31; 2 Sam. 24; 1 Chr. 21; Isa. 53); (5) that it is “a part of the entire process of the Divine self-identification with humanity” which enables men to partake of his life and share in his triumph over death. See in this connection Royce, *op. cit.*, p. 271 f; R. J. Campbell, *The New Theology*, Chs. viii-x; Caird, *The Fundamental Ideas of Christianity*, Vol. II, Lects. xvi-xvii.

<sup>69</sup> Bettany, *op. cit.*, p. 31 f.

find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light."—must have sounded extremely inviting. And the message that he taught—"God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have eternal life. For God sent not the Son into the world to judge the world; but that the world should be saved through him."—must have revealed a new aspect of God's love, namely, that He not only feels for the sinner but takes active steps to save him by sending a redeemer.<sup>70</sup>

The fatherhood of God now takes on a new significance. Like a loving father, ever ready to welcome back the prodigal son, God is only waiting for sinners to confess their guilt and accept His message of redemption preached through Christ in order to make them inheritors of an eternal life. Through faith, obedience, prayer and right living man can always win back the affection of God, for God is Love<sup>71</sup> and He ever responds to human appeal of love and overlooks the past faults of a repentant heart. There is to be no compromise, however, with unrighteousness; and no amount of formal observance of the Mosaic Law and the Temple Sacrifice or even of Synagogue Prayer would avail a man unless he purifies his heart and extends to his fellow-men the same charity as he expects of God and shows the same indulgence towards the latter's failings which he hopes God to show to his own.<sup>72</sup> By using the epithet 'Father' in preference to other epithets of God, Jesus brought home to the mind of the people the aspect of His lovingkindness which Jeremiah had taught before and the relative unimportance of the ceremonial method of approach which was inseparable from the idea of Yahweh as King in Jewish minds. We may not subscribe to the

<sup>70</sup> Rom. 5.8. See *Dic. Bi.*, II, p. 211 : The absolution of the sinner is no act of momentary indulgence, but a deliberately contemplated incident in a vast and far-reaching plan which has for its object the restoration of the human race.

<sup>71</sup> 1 John 4.8, 16.

<sup>72</sup> If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar : for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, cannot love God whom he hath not seen. (1 John 4.20.) See Mat. 5.21-22, 44-7; 6.12, 14.5; 18-22.

trinitarian view that God the Father is inconceivable without an eternal God the Son towards whom possibly His eternal love is directed,<sup>73</sup> just as we may oppose the Vaiṣṇava idea that an eternal Rādhā is necessary for the eternal love of Kṛṣṇa. But it is no small confidence that a sinner acquires if he be convinced that justice is going to be tempered by mercy and that the Divine Judge is also the Father in heaven who would stretch forth His arms to receive him as soon as proper atonement has been made: "perfect love casteth out fear" and "he that seareth is not made perfect in love."<sup>74</sup> And the corollary from this belief is of great importance to society. If God is love, His entire creation must be knit together by the silken cords of mutual goodwill and affection and all disagreement and dispute are out of place in His realm: there must be peace on earth and goodwill towards men if the glory of God is to shine here below. And by goodwill is to be understood not a mere benevolent disposition but an active charity towards the poor and the oppressed, the widow and the orphan,<sup>75</sup> as the prophets had preached before, and also an active interest in the life of the sinners, which the prophets and the rabbis had not practised systematically. "Faith without works is dead."<sup>76</sup>

Although it is very likely that at one time there was a tendency to recover the lost sheep of the house of Israel alone and to eschew the Gentiles and the Samaritans<sup>77</sup> and it is only when the appeal to the Jews did not meet with the success expected that the command to teach all nations and preach repentance and remission of sins was put into the mouth of the

<sup>73</sup> Thus Martensen in his *Christian Dogmatics* writes, "When then we teach with the Church the eternal preëxistence and independence of creation not only of the Father but also of the Son and the Spirit, we thereby affirm that God, in order to be self-revealing, self-loving God, must eternally differentiate himself into I and Thou, and just as eternally unite himself with himself as the Spirit of love that proceeds from the relation of contrast."—Quoted by Ward in *The Realm of Ends*, p. 190.

<sup>74</sup> See 1 John 4.16-19.

<sup>75</sup> See Mat. 25.35-40; Luke 14.12-4.

<sup>76</sup> James 2.26 (see the whole chapter).

<sup>77</sup> Mat. 10.5-6; 15.24; 18.17; Mark 7.27; and many other passages (see Basanta Coomar Bose, *Christianity*, p. 55).

resurgent Christ,<sup>78</sup> still Christianity should be tested not by its beginnings but by its later developments. There can be no doubt that the message of Christ was understood and applied in a universalistic sense by the primitive Church, mostly under the influence of St. Paul perhaps, and that 'Salvation is of the Jews only' and such other passages that limited missionary activity exclusively or primarily within the Jews were practically ignored after the first few years of Jesus' death.<sup>79</sup> To the end of his days Jesus remained a Jew and only asked his hearers to remember the spiritual aspect of their own religion while fulfilling the Law, just as Ram Mohan Roy at a later time asked his fellow-Hindus to follow the monistic tenets of their own Upaniṣads and Vedānta philosophy: ultimately, however, both became founders of new religions. The reason in the case of Christianity was that the followers of Jesus preached him, with the effect that the Christian religion widely diverged in course of time from the religion of Christ.<sup>80</sup> Possibly, there was no other way of reaching the non-Jews under the conditions of the time: the Gentiles could not, and possibly would not, have taken part in the Jewish religious service, and a saviour-god was nearer their own heart and conviction at that time.<sup>81</sup> St. Paul "views Christ's coming and work both as giving sonship to those who were only servants, and also as giving full filial rights to those who were children under age. But not as if it were the former only to Gentiles and the latter to Jews as such; but that it was a real gift of sonship to all, whether Jews or Gentiles, who were without God; and to all who were really seeking him, in whatever nation, though they might be very immature in their spiritual life, it was the bestowal of the full privileges of sons of full age having free and direct access

<sup>78</sup> See Acts 28.23-8.

<sup>79</sup> See Moffatt, *op. cit.*, p. 26. For Paul's contribution to the doctrine of love, see Royce, *op. cit.*, p. 91 f. The passage has also been interpreted to mean that the Jews alone are privileged to preach the message of salvation to mankind.

<sup>80</sup> See Pringle-Pattison, *Studies in the Phil. of Rel.*, p. 177 f. On Paul's contribution to this development, see Harnack, *What is Christianity?*, p. 179 f; on its weak points, p. 186 f.

<sup>81</sup> See Pringle-Pattison, *Studies in the Phil. of Rel.*, p. 205 f.



to God as their Father.”<sup>82</sup> But this sonship has to be acquired: “every one that doeth righteousness is born of him”<sup>83</sup> and “Whosoever is begotten of God doeth no sin.”<sup>84</sup>

The fatherhood of God, therefore, has far-reaching consequences for Christian life inasmuch as it includes the practical recognition of the brotherhood of man, the necessity of righteous living as exemplified in the life of Christ, and the acceptance of Jesus as the Son of God who by his atoning death on the Cross effected a reconciliation between Divine justice and Divine mercy and brought salvation not to the Jews alone but to every one who would accept him. Incidentally, it diminished the importance of ritualistic worship—external conformity to written and unwritten law in matters of prayer, sabbath-keeping, gifts to the Temple, circumcision, observance of the national feasts, and such other matters; it also emphasised the need of purifying motives, abandoning pride and adopting humility, confessing sins, trusting to Divine providence even in matters of daily maintenance, and practising charity to the needy.<sup>85</sup> Jesus did not have to preach a new religion so far as the Jews were concerned, for their own religion contained most of these injunctions: what he had to do was to put them in mind of what their own prophets had taught.<sup>86</sup> But to the non-Jews the message of a God whose lovingkindness encourages sinners to confess their guilt and to trust to His guidance must have been a novel idea;<sup>87</sup> and when this was coupled with the provision for indi-

<sup>82</sup> *Dic. Bi.*, II, p. 218, art. GOD, CHILDREN OF.

<sup>83</sup> 1 John 2.29.

<sup>84</sup> 1 John 3.9. In the combination of these ideas—God the Father, Providence, the position of men as God’s children, the infinite value of the human soul—the Gospel is expressed.—Harnack, *What is Christianity?*, p. 70.

<sup>85</sup> See Mat. 23 in this connection; the picture is apparently overdrawn when applied to the Scribes and the Pharisees as a class.

<sup>86</sup> See *Foundations*, p. 20: “He preached no new theology, but grafted his message of fulfilment into the stock of Jewish faith in God wheresoever it was alive.”

<sup>87</sup> In the so-called Zadokite document of Jewish piety, just before the days of Jesus, the idea of a new covenant, a covenant of repentance, began to be linked to the expectation of a messiah.—Moffatt, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

vidual immortality through participation in the spirit of a saviour-god, the appeal must have been almost irresistible.

The over-emphasis on the Messianic concept had the effect of obscuring the ideas regarding the other manifestations of Yahweh, particularly the idea of the Holy Spirit. The Spirit of God as the abiding witness of the presence of God in the human mind was conceived in Judaism as producing, among other things, prophetic inspiration, moral purity and religious consecration.<sup>88</sup> The Apostolic Age began to conceive of the salvation of Jesus as meant for all men and for all times; and when God Himself was supposed to have spoken through Christ direct and not through the imperfect medium of a human prophet, naturally the need of further prophecy was over. So Christ was not only the author but also the finisher or perfecter of faith.<sup>89</sup> No new revelation of God's will could come after Christ had taught<sup>90</sup> and such prophecy as persisted for some time in the infant Church came from and through the Spirit of Christ.<sup>91</sup> It appears, therefore, that this virtual supersession of the Jewish idea of Divine manifestation through the human spirit (signified by the term 'Holy Spirit') by the ideas of a pre-existent Messiah and Wisdom or Logos rolled into one (standing for the cosmic dealings of God through Christ) was responsible for the theory of Last Revelation—only that a careless slip about sending a Paraclete after Jesus had ascended to heaven<sup>92</sup> was promptly seized upon by Muhammad as Jesus' prophecy regarding his (Muhammad's) own advent as

<sup>88</sup> *Dic. Bi.*, II, p. 411.

<sup>89</sup> *Heb.* 12.2.

<sup>90</sup> *Acts* 4.12.

<sup>91</sup> The original belief was that the Apostles were directly and completely inspired. In the second century came the belief that every document which claimed admission to the sacred canon must be inspired or composed by an apostle.—See Moffatt, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-8 (See Rev. 19.10).

In the Old Testament prophecy had reference to national needs; but in the New Testament the prophets speak to the Church alone.—Moffatt, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

<sup>92</sup> *John* 14.16, 26. Christ says he will pray the Father and He will send the Comforter. See 20. 22 where the Holy Ghost is breathed by him into his disciples.

the Last Prophet.<sup>93</sup> But even in the New Testament there are evidences to show that the physical manifestation of the Holy Spirit, about which the Rabbis had spoken, was originally accepted as true, and in immaculate conception, at the baptism of Jesus, and at the meeting of the Apostles on the eve of their ministry after the death of Jesus, the Holy Spirit assumed some sort of physical appearance and it also came to Simeon and others, at the time either of Jesus' conception or of his birth, in a more intangible form. The personality of the Holy Ghost is, however, pale and shadowy by the side of that of Jesus,<sup>94</sup> and but for the fact that a few passages retain the more ancient tradition that the Holy Spirit comes directly to all individuals (e.g., Luke xi. 13) it would have been difficult to find a place for the concept in the Christian gospels. As a matter of fact, the manifestation of "a divine spirit of Mercy and of Wisdom and of Truth,"<sup>95</sup> which the Holy Spirit stands for, was so diversely identified that while, on the one hand, it was equated with Christ himself, later Christianity in some of its forms felt no scruple, on the other hand, in identifying it with a Mother-God (unconsciously imitating thereby the Osiris-Isis-Horus group or re-suscitating the feminine term 'Wisdom' of Jewish religion)

<sup>93</sup> Mānī, the founder of the eclectic Manichaeism, had made the same claim before Muhammad.—See Jackson, *Researches in Manichaeism with special reference to the Turfan Fragments*, p. 7.

<sup>94</sup> Paul's language concerning the Holy Spirit does not bear so immediately upon his doctrine of God, because the word 'Spirit' sometimes indicates a gift of God to men and sometimes God Himself working in men, as it did in the OT. A closer examination shows that the Holy Spirit is not a mere gift or influence; yet, while Divine, He is not the whole Godhead. The intensely personal language employed in such passages as 1 Co 2.10, 11, Ro 8.15, 26, and elsewhere, combined with the distinction maintained between the Spirit and Christ, the Spirit and the Father, makes the interpretation of the Holy Spirit in an OT or 'Unitarian' sense impossible. Again, apart from the phraseology of benediction in 2 Co 13.14, the general tenor of description in such passages as 1 Co 12. 4-6 and Eph. 2.18, 22 shows that St. Paul thinks easily and naturally in terms of a Tri-unity in the Godhead, when speaking of Divine operations in the salvation of men and in the worship of the Church.—ERE. vi. 268, art. GOD (Biblical and Christian). See also ERE. xii. 459-60, art. TRINITY; also xi. 793 f.

<sup>95</sup> Hopkins, *The Origin and Evolution of Religion*, p. 339.

—and this Mother was indifferently thought of as Mary (the Mother of God)<sup>96</sup> or the Church (whose children the Christians are) or even as the deaconesses of the early Church.<sup>97</sup> If the interpolated passage in the last chapter of Matthew be kept out of account, it would be difficult to establish a trinitarian belief on the New Testament, where, in different parts, two only of the Divine Trinity are more often referred to together.<sup>98</sup> But the later belief that Christ sent the Holy Spirit to abide permanently in his Church had a tendency to assign to the latter a definitely inferior status, which is a complete reversal of the position that the Son of God was born of the Holy Ghost<sup>99</sup> and that "Whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him; but whosoever shall speak against the Holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, nor in that which is to come."<sup>100</sup> When God and Christ were assimilated to each other, the Holy Spirit came to be regarded as proceeding from both the Father and the Son: it is in this form that the belief appears in the *Westminster Confession* and on this is based the fiction that from the pre-existent Son of God proceeded the inspiration that gave to pre-Christian prophets their spiritual insight and their power of revelation ('Before Abraham was, I am'). As a matter of fact, the tendency of subsequent thought was to limit the gift of the Holy Spirit (in the sense of divine inspiration) to the Church as a whole<sup>101</sup> or at least to the assembly of pious Christians,<sup>102</sup> although the Apostles had no difficulty in promising the gift of the Holy Ghost to all who

<sup>96</sup> In the Qur'ān the Christian Trinity is taken as composed of God, Mary and Christ.

<sup>97</sup> Hopkins, *Or. & Ec. of Rel.*, p. 333.

<sup>98</sup> See 2 Cor. 13.14; 1 John 5.7-8; also Mark 12.36; Luke 2.26; Acts 1.16; 20.23. Refer in this connection specially to Bethune-Baker, *op. cit.*, Ch. XIII. The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit and the Trinity.

<sup>99</sup> Luke 1.35.

<sup>100</sup> See Mat. 12.31-2; Mk. 3.29; Lk. 12.10.

<sup>101</sup> 2 Pet. 1.20 (See Dummelow, *op. cit.*, p. 1050). See esp. ERE, iii. 725 where the distinction between Pauline and Johannine conceptions is to be found.

<sup>102</sup> Quakerism may very well quote Acts 2. 1-4 in support of the view that when people are 'with one accord in one place' (The Revised Version has 'all together in one place'), the Holy Ghost descends on the assembly and moves the tongue.

would accept the message of Christ<sup>103</sup> and in preaching that the operation of the spirit of God might endow different individuals with different powers.<sup>104</sup>

So far as the development of the Christian life is concerned, it is immaterial, however, in what relation the Holy Spirit stands to God the Father and God the Son or whether it is sufficiently hypostatized, so long as it is acknowledged that people could draw the inspiration of their lives from the influx of divinity into themselves by initiation into the Christian religion. God as the ultimate source of all spirituality in man, the Holy Spirit as the power of God working in man in the form of striving towards moral and spiritual ideals, and Christ representing the possibility of a perfect realisation of infinite ideals in a finite life constituted a trinity which satisfied all spiritual needs;<sup>105</sup> and the enthusiasm and energy of the first disciples (who mastered different tongues to speak to the surrounding nations in their own languages<sup>106</sup> about the message of Christ) can only be compared with those displayed by the Arabs after their acceptance of the message of Muhammad. The following quotation well summarises the effects of the belief, that the spirit of God had come to dwell in the Church, as gathered from *the Acts of the Apostles*:

“ There was a wide-spread diffusion of the Spirit not only in Palestine, but further afield in the Roman Empire, and it was manifested, abnormally and explosively, by extraordinary elevation of human faculties, so that miracles, prophecy, glossolaly, and visions were abundant; more normally in great enthusiasm, new courage, liberty of speech, skill in debate, keen insight into and wise use of scripture, sound judgment of human character, business aptitude, and comfort in suffering. The Spirit is not presented as the principle of ethical life, as in Paul, yet ethical qualities of repentance,

<sup>103</sup> Acts 2.38-9 19.6. See *Foundations*, pp. 42, 69.

<sup>104</sup> Acts 2.4-11.

<sup>105</sup> See J. S. Huxley, *Religion without Revelation*, Ch. II.

<sup>106</sup> The gift of tongues, referred to in Acts ii. 4, is probably an echo of the Jewish traditions of the Law-giving in seventy languages at Sinai.—See *ERE*. xi. 792.

obedience, and faith are needed for its reception, and it belonged to every believer. In the communal life of the Ecclesia it inspired mutual service, generous self-sacrifice, joyous fellowship, thus transforming and socialising human nature. The Spirit supervised every stage of the Ecclesia's advance, but neither conferred infallibility nor superseded human judgment. It is described impersonally as a gift, which God gives or the Son outpours, more usually as power. Yet personal actions are attributed to the Spirit: it 'speaks,' 'bears witness,' 'separates' for service, 'approves' a conciliar decision, 'forbids,' 'appoints overseers,' and can be 'resisted,' 'tempted,' and 'lied against.' In these last cases the Spirit is co-ordinated with God, but there is no attempt to think out the relation of the Spirit to the Father and the Son. Once, though perhaps the passage denotes merely a vision, it is called 'the Spirit of Jesus' (167). But, as regards men, the Spirit denotes the divine, the supernatural, for it comes from God, indicates Jesus' claim to be Messiah, authenticates His exaltation, fulfils OT prophecy, and is the medium whereby He is present and operative within His Church.<sup>107</sup> In Pauline literature the operation of the Holy Spirit was deepened: the possession of "all the blessings of God's kingdom—faith, righteousness, joy, and peace"—was ascribed to its operation, as also the quickening of conscience, love, holiness and immortality. In Johannine literature "the Pauline characteristic of the Spirit as power is dropped, as also that of the Spirit as source of ethical gifts like faith and peace, whilst the operation of the Spirit as life-giving is more emphasised." It will thus be seen that, on the whole, the Christian interpretation of Holy Spirit was an advance upon the Jewish conception in that although it tended to limit inspiration to the Church, it yet provided the basis of that universality and that ethical idealism which have characterised the progress of Christianity in space and time.

We may very well believe that with the lapse of time the Christian Church gained a deeper appreciation of God's rela-

tion to man, especially to those who would accept Christ. Human history was conceived as moving towards the ideal of a theocratic regime, the germs of which had already been laid in the minds of the pious few. The Son of Man would come in glory to rule over a purified world and unceasing preparations must go on to hasten his advent. Israel had dreamt of a day when even animals would forsake their ferocity and from all corners of the world would gather nations, or a pious remnant, to establish under a Messiah a new covenant with God and to establish His kingdom for ever at Zion. The Apostles taught that the Son of Man had already appeared, being duly announced by John the Baptist who had asked the people to prepare the way of the Lord for His kingdom was near at hand. But, that the kingdom that the Messiah would establish is not a political but a spiritual one, established through his atoning death, that those in power in that kingdom are not the rich and the proud but the poor and the meek, and that the greatest privilege there is not to rule but to serve—these ideas were novel in the Christian message and were unacceptable to the Jews, who therefore rejected him.<sup>108</sup>

It must be admitted that this exalted conception of the Kingdom of God was of a slow growth in the minds of the Apostles—perhaps even in the consciousness of Jesus. At this distance of time we can only make guesses on the basis of extant documents that have passed through the editing hands of a later generation who had lived to see the futility of Jewish Messianic hopes about a Deliverer who would bring back the political glory of Israel and establish the spiritual superiority of Israel over other nations. In order to win Jewish converts the idea of a political saviour

<sup>108</sup> The Kingdom has a triple meaning. Firstly, it is something supernatural, a gift from above, not a product of ordinary life. Secondly, it is a purely religious blessing, the inner link with the living God; thirdly, it is the most important experience that a man can have, that on which everything else depends; it permeates and dominates his whole existence, because sin is forgiven and misery banished.—Harnack, *What is Christianity?*, p. 64. See *Foundations*, p. 111 f; Caird, *The Fundamental Ideas of Christianity*, Vol. II, Lect. XIX; also Royce, *op. cit.*, p. 36 f, 49 f, 350 f.

was not totally abandoned and a number of passages can be easily quoted to show that attempts were made to identify Jesus with the Jewish Messiah. Thus he was regarded as having a Davidic descent (the immaculate conception necessitating a belief that not only Joseph but also Mary belonged to the royal house), his disciples speculated about their positions in his kingdom,<sup>109</sup> and his last entry into Jerusalem was pictured as a triumphal procession. There is reason to think that he was regarded as stirring up the lower classes to rebellion by preaching the evils of the capitalistic regime, promising blessings to the poor and gathering round about him a number of men who had left their families to help him in his mission of the sword as against that of peace. At his trial and on his conviction, reference to his being the King of the Jews was also made by his accusers. Those who asked him whether payment could be legitimately made to Caesar had a similar motive, namely, to ascertain whether he admitted his political mission. The belief that such a Messiah would come is still a part of the Jewish creed, and the Christians, who, even after the failure of Jesus' political mission and his ignominious death, continued to believe that the Kingdom of God had come through his sufferings, were anathematised as sectaries in the Jewish formula of faith.

In consonance with the systematic practice of the editors of the Gospels to invent sayings and situations which would confirm Old Testament prophecies in the life of Jesus we have another set of ideas regarding the Kingdom of God. The Book of Daniel had spoken of one like unto a son of Man coming with the clouds of heaven and given an everlasting dominion.<sup>110</sup> In Rabbinical and Apocalyptic literature a judgment of the world was a prominent belief, and John the Baptist too had taught that the Kingdom of heaven was at hand. These current eschatological beliefs could not fail to affect the conception of the kingdom that Jesus was supposed

<sup>109</sup> Mk. 10:37.

<sup>110</sup> Dan. 7:13-14, 27.



to have come to establish.<sup>111</sup> It was confidently expected that the end of the world was in sight; and Jesus too was made to say that the Kingdom of God was surely coming—possibly before his contemporaries had all died<sup>112</sup>—and in his instructions to the Apostles he asked them to preach the nearness of the Kingdom of heaven<sup>113</sup> in order to bring home to the people the urgent necessity of squaring up their earthly accounts by repentance and acceptance of his message. Christ could allude in this connection to the many mansions in his Father's house and it is of this kingdom of heaven that Peter was promised the keys by him. The message was taken so literally by some of the faithful that the rearing of a family was regarded by them as unnecessary in view of the impending catastrophe which would separate the wheat and the tares that were growing up together in the meantime.<sup>114</sup> In the kingdom to come many of the sons of Abraham would find no place but many Gentiles would.<sup>115</sup>

If then the first conception of the Kingdom of God to be ruled over by the Messiah was meant for the glorification of Israel, the second was reserved for the righteous irrespective of nationality. But both were concerned with certain objective events—a change in political conditions in the one case and a change in cosmic conditions in the other. A truer insight is to be found, however, in other passages where the

<sup>111</sup> See Mat. 19.28; also Harnack, *What is Christianity?*, p. 175; *Foundations*, p. 88 f, for a summary of previous speculations on this aspect of the advent of the Messiah.

<sup>112</sup> The statements are slightly conflicting. In Mat. 24.34-6, Mk. 9.1 and Lk. 9.27 the day and hour are not known definitely but "this generation shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled"; in Lk. 17.20 and Mk. 13.32, 35 reference is made to the fact that the kingdom of God does not come with observation or man's knowledge and that all that we can do is to watch and pray. See Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 42 f, 53 f

<sup>113</sup> Mat. 10.7; also 4.17; also Mk. 1.15.

<sup>114</sup> Moffatt thinks (*op. cit.*, p. 109) that "it was not the New Testament, it was the reading of the uncanonical Acts, the Acts of Paul, of John, of Philip, of Peter, and so forth, which was responsible for the unhealthy stress on celibacy and the morbid antipathy to marriage during the second and the third centuries, and which eventually emerged in some forms of monasticism."

<sup>115</sup> See Mat. 8.11-12; 13.40-43; 19.28-30; 25.31-46; John 14.1-2; Lk. 13. 28-30.

Kingdom of God refers to certain changes in the hearts of men which tend to alter so materially the existing conceptions of social relationship that if they can be brought about, heaven would come down on earth.<sup>116</sup> The Kingdom of God is within us.<sup>117</sup> It begins without their knowledge in the small acts of love (which Christ compares to mustard-seeds) provided men abandon the sophistications of age and regain the innocence of childhood. Commenting on the passage, "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven,"<sup>118</sup> Neander observes: "This single saying expressed the whole nature of the Gospel preached by Christ. It implied that he viewed the Kingdom of God as an invisible and spiritual one, to enter which a certain disposition of heart was essential, *viz.*, a child-like spirit, free from pride and self-will, receiving Divine impressions in humble submission and conscious dependence: in a word, all the qualities of the child, suffering itself to be guided by the developed reason of the adult, are to be illustrated in the relations between man and God."<sup>119</sup> Quite in keeping with the above is the other teaching of Jesus that it is only to the poor in spirit that the kingdom of heaven belongs<sup>120</sup>—a very useful corrective to the impression that might have been created in the minds of his following that heaven belonged to the poor in wealth and to those who had forsaken their relations and possessions for him<sup>121</sup> and that the rich would have no access, or a very difficult access, to heaven.<sup>122</sup> "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God."<sup>123</sup>

<sup>116</sup> Cf. The Lord's prayer: Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth.

Obviously this can refer only to men choosing freely what God wishes them to do. (Cf. Mat. 7. 21.)

<sup>117</sup> Lk. 17. 21. See Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 57; also p. 63.

<sup>118</sup> Mat. 18.1-11; Mk. 10.14-5.

<sup>119</sup> Neander, *Life of Christ* (Bohn's ed., 1871), pp. 364-5.

<sup>120</sup> Mat. 5. 3.

<sup>121</sup> See Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 81 f, p. 90 f.

<sup>122</sup> Mat. 19.24; Mk. 10.24; Lk. 6.20; 18.29-30.

<sup>123</sup> John 3.3; also 3.5.

There can be no question that in the Epistles taken as a whole it is this spiritual interpretation that dictates social dealings.<sup>124</sup> Husbands and wives, masters and servants, fathers and children, brothers and brothers, are to accommodate themselves and be just to one another to establish a peaceful and pure society,<sup>125</sup> and people are advised not to drag their complaints before unbelievers or a court of law but to the saints or to the wise elders of the Church. Sinning either with the body or with the mind is the surest way of excluding oneself from God's Kingdom and the mere external observance of formalities does not make a man righteous, just as its non-observance does not make a man vicious. "Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God? Be not deceived: neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with men, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God."<sup>126</sup> Defilement does not come from food and drink but from unrighteous thoughts and acts: "for the kingdom of God is not eating and drinking, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost."<sup>127</sup> Although the beginning of this kingdom through Jesus was an act of Divine grace, yet its consummation depends upon steady faith and constant prayer even under the provocative oppression of the unbelieving and the unjust.<sup>128</sup> The standard of spiritual attainment necessary for entrance into this kingdom is indicated by the saying of Jesus that the righteousness must be both qualitatively and quantitatively—more qualitatively than quantitatively—better and greater than that of the Scribes and the Pharisees and that the least in this kingdom is greater than even John the Baptist,<sup>129</sup> who

<sup>124</sup> See *Dic. Bib.*, II, p. 852; also Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 10 f.

<sup>125</sup> Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

<sup>126</sup> 1 Cor. 6.9-10.

<sup>127</sup> Rom. 14. 17. Cf. Gal. 5.22: The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, longsuffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, temperance.

<sup>128</sup> See ERE. vii. 512, art. JESUS CHRIST.

<sup>129</sup> Mat. 11. 11; Lk. 7.28.

was the best representative of the old morality as taught in the Law and the Prophets. But, for this spiritual attainment, confession of sin, rather than obedience to the Law, is essential, and many a publican and many a harlot will qualify for admission into this realm of everlasting life while many children of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob will be wailing and gnashing their teeth outside its walls. Moral perfection is individual and not tribal, and there is no limit to spiritual perfection attainable by man: "Be ye perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect."<sup>130</sup> Unto righteousness all things are added—a Divine Providence looks to the daily needs of the righteous and they need not be worried by the thought of being forgotten by a God without whose knowledge not even a sparrow falls to the ground.<sup>131</sup> So it is not the needs of temporal existence that should absorb the attention of men but the demands of eternal life. What shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul? Interpreted rightly, "the Christian religion," says Harnack, "means one thing and one thing only: Eternal life in the midst of time, by the strength and under the eyes of God."<sup>132</sup>

It would be idle to deny the tremendous influence that Christianity wielded at one time over the hearts of men when of all religions it alone remained missionary and invited people to forsake their effete ancestral creeds in favour of its own message of salvation. Born at a time when the old Mediterranean religions were in a decadent condition, it could rouse the conscience of better minds

<sup>130</sup> Mat. 5. 48. In Catholicism this was mellowed down into the distinction between a perfect and a sufficient morality.—See Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

<sup>131</sup> See Basanta Coomar Bose, *Christianity*, p. 41.

<sup>132</sup> Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

Ritschl's definition of Christianity represents an ideal: "Christianity is that monotheistic religion, wholly spiritual and ethical, which, based upon the life of its author as redeemer and as the founder of the Kingdom of God, consists in the freedom of divine sonship, involves the impulse to active conduct from the motive of love, aims at the moral organisation of mankind, and lays the basis of bliss in sonship towards God as well as in the Kingdom of God" (quoted by Moffatt, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-8).

to a sense of the degeneration of the spiritual element in religion and the necessity of a more ethical and less formal method of divine worship. Christ was a Saviour-god but was also at the same time an ethical personality, and the religion that he preached was the well-known religion of the Jews which emphasised the holy character of God. The difficulty arose when the Apostles and their followers began to invest Christ with a divine character; for it was then that speculations began about the exact nature and significance of the advent of Jesus. To make the religion acceptable, contemporary predilections for a Saviour-god, a Messiah, a Sacrifice to appease Justice, and a pre-existent Principle had all to be satisfied: the effect was Christological speculation with its hair-splitting distinctions and its gradual tendency to emphasise the divinity of Christ and a consequential plurality within the inner life of God. Sects and schisms rapidly arose mostly over the question of the nature of Christ, and by the end of the 6th century most of the theories about the nature and necessity of the mediation of Christ had been propounded and defended with zeal, if not with bitterness also. The spiritual message ran some risk of being relegated to a secondary position in order to make room for the Messiah in men's minds, and slowly but surely many pagan ideas, associations, cults and ceremonies effected an entrance into the service of the Christian Church. Time was again ripe for an organised protest against over-subtlety in faith and plurality in godhead; and the protest came from the Arabian deserts where debased and heretical schools had been preaching a Christianity far removed from the simple message of Christ to suffering and sinful humanity.

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## CHAPTER VIII

### GOD IN ISLAM

Muhammad's chief merit lies in his uncompromising monotheism which is perhaps partially due to the fear that any concession on that head would lead to polytheism—a form of belief which he detested. Convinced that the idols that disfigured the Ka'ba<sup>1</sup> were nonentities and that the Arab belief that Allāh had sons and daughters was radically false, he laid down that God was one and everlasting, that He did not beget any being nor was He Himself begotten and that there was none like unto Him.<sup>2</sup> And this conviction did not remain a mere intellectual formula but became an overmastering passion which drove him to proclaim his belief openly, with grave consequences to his personal safety. How he arrived at this conception of a unitary godhead is yet a matter of dispute. Judaism and Christianity were not unknown in Arabia, and Muhammad in his travels to distant regions in charge of caravans must have known of their religion and their method of worship. It is doubtful, however, if at first he knew the Bible with any intimacy at all,<sup>3</sup> for references to it are such as would betray simply an acquaintance with tit-bits of Jewish and Christian tales about past heroes, prophets, miracles and such other spectacular personages and

<sup>1</sup> It has been suggested that the cult at the Ka'ba with its 360 idols was astral in character; possibly it was syncretic.—See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, II, p. 591.

<sup>2</sup> Sura cxii.

<sup>3</sup> Bell, *The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment*, pp. 46, 67, 136, 140; Rodwell's *Koran*, Preface, pp. xviii-xix; Lammens, *Islam: Beliefs and Institutions*, p. 39; Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, p. 30 f.; ERE. viii. 874.

events—possibly oral stories repeated with circumstantial details in the manner of the Talmudic and the Apocryphal literature.<sup>4</sup> Jews had settled in Yathrib (Medina) and elsewhere in the pursuit of trade; and Christians, mostly of heretical schools, driven out from the then centres of Christian culture, had taken refuge in South Arabia, Abyssinia and the fringes of the Hijaz, and the Christian hermit, it appears, was not an unknown figure even to pre-Islamic poets.<sup>5</sup> But even though there were Jewish and Christian converts among the Arabs, their allegiance was of the shallowest type and their knowledge of the deeper principles of their own religion was at best insignificant.

But the collective influence of the religious forces on a few pre-Islamic Arabs manifests itself in the absorption of a number of Aramaic, Ethiopic and Abyssinian words connected with religion, a knowledge of the sacred books possessed by the Jews and the Christians, possibly also a belief in a future life.<sup>6</sup> Again, as Bell remarks, "what was meant by a prophet, a holy book, revelation, prayer, and praise, cannot have been entirely unknown to the Arabs."<sup>7</sup> Some passages in the Qur'ān make it probable that the tribal polytheism was being gradually tempered by the recognition of a supreme deity<sup>8</sup> sometime before the birth of Muhammad, and that, while in distress, the people called upon him for safety and help although in more peaceful times they went back to their idols.<sup>9</sup> In fact, since the time of the Elkesaites (c. 100

<sup>4</sup> Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 110; also p. 112. See Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, art. JEWS (p. 235) for Muhammad's knowledge of Jewish religious literature. See also Sir William Muir, *The Mohammedan Controversy and other articles*, pp. 129-30.

<sup>5</sup> Bell, *op. cit.*, pp. 43 f., 143; Sir William Muir, *Life of Muhammad*, pp. xcv, 22; see Khuda Bukhsh, *Essays Indian and Islamic*, p. 5; also Archer, *Mystical Elements in Mohammed*, p. 58, p. 61 f.

<sup>6</sup> Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 50 f. See Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-38; Archer, *Mystical Elements in Mohammed*, Ch. VII (pp. 61-70).

<sup>7</sup> Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

<sup>8</sup> Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 56 f. Guillaume, *Traditions of Islam*, p. 143; Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology*, p. 124.

<sup>9</sup> Sura xxxix. 11.

A.D.),<sup>10</sup> whose beliefs are remarkably similar to those of Islām, the conjoint influence of Judaism and Christianity was responsible for sporadic monotheistic attempts by persons who claimed prophetic designation and honour—false prophets, according to Christianity and Islām. The people who influenced Muhammad's thought most were probably the Hanīfs,<sup>11</sup> who were indigenous monotheists attached neither to Judaism nor to Christianity—a designation of uncertain derivation used in the Qur'ān specially of Abraham<sup>12</sup> to whom Muhammad went back in search of a monotheist who had flourished long before the founders of the Jewish and Christian faiths were born, and who, through Ishmael, was the father of the Arab race.<sup>13</sup> It would be strange indeed if a rest-

<sup>10</sup> Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 59 f. ERE, art. ELKESAITES, does not admit that the Elkesaite influence on Islam is proved.

<sup>11</sup> See footnote 1 in Rodwell's Koran, p. 216, to Sura xvi. 121. Also Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 57 f. Islam has sometimes been designated as Hanifism.—see *Enc. Isl.*, II, p. 259 (art. HANIF); also Archer, *op. cit.*, p. 58 f.

<sup>12</sup> In the sense of one who was neither a Jew nor a Christian and yet was no idolater. It was also used in respect of one steadfast in the Islamic faith. It originally applied to persons who had turned away from the idolatrous religion of Arabia to a monotheistic faith.—See Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, sub voce HANĪF (p. 161). It is not impossible that Muhammad borrowed this appeal from Moses to Abraham from the Christians.—*The Legacy of Israel*, p. 131 (See Gal. iii. 7-8, 15-17). See Moffatt, *op. cit.*, p. 63. Commenting on Sura xxx. 29, Bell remarks, "The term *hanīf* is associated with Abraham not, I think, because Abraham is regarded as specially a *hanīf* more than others, but rather because the recognition of the place of Abraham, and the idea of this eternally existing religion again and again renewed by the prophets, came to Muhammad about the same time. Other prophets and other true believers were *hanīfs*."—Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 132; also pp. 57, 129 f. See Sell, *Essays on Islam*, p. 242 f.

<sup>13</sup> Ishmael was the son of Hagar, the bondwoman of Abraham's wife Sarah, while Isaac was Sarah's son. (Hence the Arabs and the Jews were brethren or cousins). Greatness was promised of the progeny of both Isaac and Ishmael (Gen. 22. 16-18; 21. 13). For an interesting allegorical use of the relation between Isaac (the Christians) and Ishmael (the Jews), see Gal. 4. 21 f. (See Moffatt, *op. cit.*, p. 134, for interpretation.) For the influence of the religion of Abraham's Haran, see ERE. viii. 875.

Snouck Hurgronje (and before him Sprenger) has pointed out that in the Meccan Suras it is often said that no prophetic admonisher had been sent to the Arabs before Muhammad and that although Abraham occupied a prominent place among the prophets there was nothing to distinguish him from the rest so far as the Arabs were concerned. In the Medinese Suras, however, after the breach with the Jews, Muhammad began to teach that Abraham had lived in Mecca and



less mind, convinced of the futility of polytheism and idolatry, should not seek the company of those who could enlighten him on points of doubt; but at the same time one would not seek such company if one had not independently arrived at a tentative conclusion regarding the unity of godhead. It is not possible for any man to escape the influence of contemporary social movements: it is not impossible that Jewish, Christian and indigenous monotheistic ideas were unconsciously in operation in Muhammad's mind, although it is quite possible that he never consciously borrowed elements from their religion till his own faith had been firmly fixed and the necessity had arisen of showing its filiation to previous systems of belief.<sup>14</sup>

It is easier to show that, in spite of his uncompromising hostility to the general Arabic belief in a multiplicity of gods and disbelief in future life,<sup>15</sup> he was anxious to retain as many of the Arab practices and prejudices as he could, consistently with a monotheistic creed. He tacitly consented to the continuance of the heathen Arabic (and Semitic) custom of circumcision and possibly only his ignorance of the covenant with Abraham, his religious hero, prevented him from giving it a religious sanction.<sup>16</sup> "His teaching developed in the early period, not according to Biblical models but in the style of the pagan Arab sooth-sayers with their oracles, formulae for blessings and curses, etc.," and their rhymed prose (*sadj*).<sup>17</sup> After some hesitation he retained 'Allāh' as the name of God although it had polytheistic association, this

founded the sanctuary of the Black Stone with his son Ishmael.—See *Enc. Isl.*, II, p. 1075; also p. 432.

<sup>14</sup> See *Legacy of Israel*, p. 132 f.; Sir William Muir, *Life of Mohammad*, pp. 102, 143 f.

<sup>15</sup> Sura xxiii. 33-40.

<sup>16</sup> "Circumcision is not once alluded to in the Qur'an...It is held to be *Sunna*, or founded upon the customs of the Prophet, and dating its institution from the time of Abraham. . . According to several Muhammadan doctors, there were seventeen of the prophets born in a circumcised state" (Muhammad was one of them).—Hughes, *Dic. Isl.*, p. 57, art. CIRCUMCISION. See in this connection footnote to Sura ii. 132 in Rodwell's *Koran*.

<sup>17</sup> *Enc. Isl.*, II, p. 1066; see Lammens, *op. cit.*, p. 46: "This use of oaths grows less as the Prophet nears the Hijra, and ceases entirely at Medina." See Macdonald, *Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*—

being the name of the supreme deity among the other gods of pre-Islamic Arabia.<sup>18</sup> The Ka'ba was permitted by the iconoclastic reformer to retain its sanctity and its black stone, pilgrimage to Mecca continued as in the days of yore, and some of the ancient Arab customs and acts continued, albeit with a new significance, in the rules about pilgrimage, which ultimately became one of "the pillars of Islām."<sup>19</sup> When he failed to carry the Jews with him, Muhammad changed the *Kibla* from Jerusalem to Mecca even though the latter had no monotheistic associations before his own reforms.<sup>20</sup>

pp. 31 f., 64 f. For Muhammad's belief in evil eye and spells against its influence, see Sura cxiii. 1, 2, 5; Westermarck, *Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilisation*, p. 55; also pp. 115 (where references to swearing by the moon would be found), 117 (where "God loves the odd" is exemplified).

<sup>18</sup> Bell, *op. cit.*, pp. 55, 116 f. For Muhammad's attempts to accommodate Meccan beliefs, see ERE. viii. 875. See Hughes, *Dic. Islam*, p. 191, *sub voce* IDOLATRY; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Ch. 1, Vol. II, p. 425 f. (ed. Ward, Lock and Co.).

Nöldeke remarks, "Among the heathen Arabs of later times Allāh is extremely common both by itself and in theophorous names" (ERE. i. 664). "In theophorous proper names the deity sometimes appears as a lord, while the human individual is his servant, his hand-maid, his obedient subject (*ʿaw'*); sometimes, again, the deity is described as gracious, while the human individual is his gift, his reward, his act of favour, the aid which he supplies, his *protégé* who seeks refuge with him, etc. At other times the deity is represented as increasing the family, as sending a good omen and good fortune.. Some of these compounds are of doubtful meaning. With the exception of a very small number of uncertain cases found in inscriptions, there are absolutely no names which designate a human being as the kinsman or descendant of a deity, like those which we find among the Hebrews and other Semites." (ERE. i. 665).

For Quranic references to pre-Islamic Allāh, see *Enc. Isl.*, I, p. 302, art. ALLAH.

<sup>19</sup> See, *c.g.*, Sura ii. 153. See *Enc. Isl.*, II, pp. 587 f., 444 (*Id al-Adhā*). 190 f. For a modern interpretation of the rites of the pilgrimage, see Lammens, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

<sup>20</sup> See Sura ii. 136-45, which abrogate ii. 109. See also Sura ix. 1-12, 28, 35 f. See Sir W. Muir, *Life of Mohammad*, pp. 189, 195; T. W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam* (1913), pp. 26-27. Abraham and Ishmael are claimed as the founders and builders of the Ka'ba at Mecca and the historical basis of Islam is assured.—*Legacy of Israel*, p. 132. See Sura xxii. 27, 77; iii. 60, 91, and many other places about Abraham being the founder of monotheism (and Islam). See Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 144. For legends, see *Enc. Isl.*, II, p. 589 (Adam is supposed to be its founder); also p. 543. For the antiquity of Mecca, see Sir William Muir, *Life of Mohammad*, p. cii f. Mecca is regarded by Islam as the navel of the earth. "It forms the part of the earth which was created before the rest of it and around

What is more important to consider is the light in which Muhammad took his own prophetic mission.<sup>21</sup> Judging by the probabilities of the case, it is likely that his soul was primarily stirred against the debased religious beliefs and the iniquitous social practices of his countrymen.<sup>22</sup> No doubt can be entertained about the sincerity of his convictions or his zeal in proclaiming them in no uncertain terms;<sup>23</sup> for he knew very well the risk he ran in touching a lucrative source of revenue of the Koraish and a deep-rooted pagan sentiment of the people at large. That he felt a call to act in the manner of earlier prophets may be admitted without any question: he was no deceiver or charlatan who wanted to gather a following or a fortune by his prophetic office, if the unanimous testimony to the beginning of his prophetic career can be relied upon. As Dr. Leitner observes, "If self-sacrifice, honesty of purpose, unswerving belief in one's mission, a marvellous insight into existing wrong or error, and the perception and use of the best means for its removal, are among the outward and visible signs of inspiration, the mission of Muhammad was inspired."<sup>24</sup> It is extremely likely that originally Muhammad considered himself to be a warner<sup>25</sup> in the fashion of John the Baptist, announcing the nearness of the Last Judgment and calling his countrymen to the worship of a unitary God<sup>26</sup> and the belief in a destiny beyond the

which the rest stretches. It is also the highest point, the place which provides the whole world with its nourishment; and it forms the place of communication with the upper and the under world.—*Enc. Isl.*, II, p. 590. Cf. Proverbs viii. 22-26. See Muhammad Ali's *Holy Quran*, p. 170 f., notes 467-69.

<sup>21</sup> See Sir W. Muir, *Life of Mohammad*, Ch. III; also p. 71.

<sup>22</sup> During the ten first years of his prophetic career Muhammad only attacks the heathen, and refrains from falling upon the Jews and Christians with whom he believed himself to be in agreement on the fundamentals of his preaching.—Lammens, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-47.

<sup>23</sup> The oldest Suras are "the most animated, the most lyrical, and also the most abrupt." Another peculiarity is "the multiplicity and piling-up of oaths."—See Lammens, *op. cit.*, p. 46; also Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, p. 35.

<sup>24</sup> *Religious Systems of the World*, p. 293.

<sup>25</sup> Sura xxix. 49.

<sup>26</sup> The idea of the unity of Allāh does not occupy so large a place in the earliest parts of the Kur'ān; later, however, it occurs many times.—Wensinck, *The*

grave. At a later time when he put forward Abraham (Ibrāhīm) as 'the friend of God' (*Khalilullāh*) he represented him as doing to his father's idols what he himself intended to do to the idols at Ka'ba, namely, utter destruction.<sup>27</sup> With increased success and greater knowledge of the achievements of earlier prophets he could tell his people that the treatment that they were meting out to him had befallen the lot of these earlier prophets also, but that their countrymen had to pay dearly for their unbelief. Here Muhammad figures as one prophet among others and he could preach that Allāh sends to each nation its own prophet whom it should hear and obey.<sup>28</sup> When he began to recite the Quranic verses in his public ministry at Mecca and conceived the idea of a divine mission,<sup>29</sup> two ideas were combined: he was not an ordinary prophet but an Apostle and a law-giver like Moses and Christ<sup>30</sup> and through him the Arabs were going to get from heaven a sacred book in their own language as the Jews had theirs through Moses.<sup>31</sup> His sole ambition seems to have

*Muslim Creed*, p. 4 (References are to Suras cxii, ii, 256, xxvii, 26, xxviii, 83; see also iv, 10, 51, 89, 116). Snouck Hurgronje called attention to the very important point that Muhammad did not from the very first proclaim strict monotheism as the principal thing but the approach of the Last Judgment, from which he was to save his countrymen. The assertion that there is no god but Allāh appears sporadically from lxiii, 9 onwards; and it must certainly have taken some time before there was a definite breach with the idolaters (Sura cix) and before he met them with the declaration of the oneness of God (Sura cxii).—*Enc. Isl.*, II, p. 1075, art. KORAN.

<sup>27</sup> The story in Sura xxi, 52 f. The story is taken from Rabbinical literature (see *Legacy of Israel*, p. 141). See *Enc. Isl.*, II, p. 431, art. IBRAHIM. See also Sir W. Muir, *The Life of Mohammad*, pp. 408-09.

<sup>28</sup> Sura iv, 161-63, 168. See Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

<sup>29</sup> For the arrangement of the Suras according to periods, see Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, art. QUR'AN, p. 492 f. There is no unanimity about arrangement: compare, for instance, Rodwell and Hughes.

<sup>30</sup> Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 125 f.

<sup>31</sup> See art. PROPHET in Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 475; also Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 93 f. Muhammad is divinely authorised to communicate the Book of God. He even communicates it in his own language, but whether the original is in Arabic is not clear; there is at least a suggestion that it is in a divine language: "We have made it an Arabic Koran 'hat ye might understand it, but in the original with us it is sublime, wise (xlili 21)."—Margoliouth, *Early Development of Muhammadanism*, p. 9. On 'Arabic Qur'ān,' see *The Apology of Al Fındy*, pp. 79-84; T. W. Arnold, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

been originally to be recognised as a genuine vehicle of divine decrees and not to be stigmatised as an impostor, a mere poet,<sup>32</sup> a plagiarist or a redactor of ancient prophecies. He repudiated the suggestion that he had confederates—possibly Jewish and Christian—from whom he borrowed materials and that he was trying to pass off his own composition as divine revelation, sent down from heaven through angelic agency.<sup>33</sup>

But very soon Muhammad assumed a more ambitious rôle. He not only believed that an illiterate man like himself<sup>34</sup> could not have composed such elegant verses—and he challenged his contemporaries to produce ten verses to match

<sup>32</sup> For Muhammad's attitude towards poets, see Archer, *op. cit.*, p. 79 f.; Macdonald, *Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, p. 18 f. See Sir W. Muir, *Life of Mohammad*, pp. 78, 127.

<sup>33</sup> At a later period of his career no one would venture to doubt the divine origin of the entire book. But at its commencement the case was different. The people of Mecca spoke openly and tauntingly of it as the work of a poet, as a collection of antiquated or fabulous legends, or a palpable sorcery. They accused him of having confederates, and even specified foreigners who had been his coadjutors. Such were Salman the Persian, to whom he may have owed the descriptions of Heaven and Hell, which are analogous to those of the Zendavesta, and the Christian monk Sergius, or as the Muhammadans term him, Boheira.—Rodwell, *Preface to Koran*, p. xvi. See Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, art. JEWS, p. 236. The whole article is worth reading.

<sup>34</sup> In this connection it is important to consider the term *ummī*, one of the favourite epithets Muhammad gives himself in the Kuran. Later writers usually explained this term as meaning "illiterate" and connected it with the problem of Muhammad's ability to read and write. *Umma* conveys the meaning of "people." When the term is used in a religious sense it means community; in a profane sense it is *ethnos* and *ummī* is *ethnikos*. When Muhammad called himself *ummī* he meant thereby that he was the Arabian Prophet of the gentiles, speaking to the gentiles to whom no Apostle had ever been sent before.—Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, p. 6. See Rodwell's *Koran*, p. 331, footnotes 1 and 2 on Sura vii. 156. See, however, 'Ali Ṭabari, *The Book of Religion and Empire*, (Tr. by A. Mingana), p. 54 f. Muhammad Ali (*The Holy Quran*, p. 361, footnote 950) says that the *ummī* prophet conveys any one of the following three significances, viz., (1) one who knows not reading or writing; (2) one from among the Arabs (among whom reading and writing were rare); and (3) one coming from Mecca (*umm-ul-Qura*, the Metropolis of Arabia). Sura xxix. 47: "And Thou didst not recite any book (of revelation) before it: with that right hand of thine thou didst not transcribe one," is taken by Musalmans as conclusive evidence that Muhammad was illiterate before he received the Quranic revelation. "There is a difference of opinion, however, as to whether he could read or write after revelation." See Muhammad Ali, *The Holy Quran*, p. 362; Enc. Br., Vol. 15, p. 646.

those of the Qur'ān <sup>35</sup>—and boasted that even if men and jinn were to combine they could not produce a similar book,<sup>36</sup> but he began to believe also that he was “all the Apostle of God,” <sup>37</sup> “the seal of the prophets.” <sup>38</sup> Two consequences followed from this position. The first is that his advent was not unexpected, for earlier prophets had predicted his coming and even his name,<sup>39</sup> and he had come to give a fuller revelation of God's essence and attributes than the earlier prophets had done. Although in the Qur'ān the references to such prophetic Biblical passages are meagre, the hint thrown out was seized upon with avidity by Muslim theologians and the Old and the New Testament were ransacked for finding out appropriate prophecies regarding the future greatness of the progeny of Ishmael and the advent and achievements of

<sup>35</sup> Sura xl. 16; ii. 21. See Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>36</sup> Sura xvi. 91, Muhammad Ali translates jinn as evil-disposed men (*The Holy Quran*, p. 579, footnote 1466); but only some Mu'tazilites took the word in this sense. See art. GENII in Hughes, *Dic. Isl.*, p. 133 f, and *Enc. Isl.*, I, art. DJINN, p. 1015. See also Westernmark, *Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilization*, pp. 12 f., 17.

<sup>37</sup> Sura vii. 157 f. See Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 6, on the interpretation of this passage.

<sup>38</sup> Sura xxxiii. 40. The seal of prophecy was a mole of an unusual size on the Prophet's back which, according to the predictions of the scriptures, marked him as the Seal of the Prophets (see Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 567; Sir W. Muir, *The Life of Mohammad*, p. 529). The following quotation from Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian, the founder of the Ahmadiyya Movement, who claimed to have combined in his own person the functions of the Mahdi and the Messiah, is of interest here: “The chosen ones of God even now drink deep at the fountain of His inspiration and no one ever set a seal upon the lips of God. His grace even now flows in abundance and is bestowed upon men as it was bestowed of old. It is true that the revelation of a perfect Law and necessary rules for the guidance of mankind has put an end to the need of a fresh Law to be revealed from the Almighty, and apostleship and prophecy have attained their perfection in the holy person of our Lord and Master (?), the Prophet Muhammad, may peace and the blessings of God be upon him, but still an access to the sacred fountain of inspiration is not thereby debarred.—*Teachings of Islam* (1921), p. 78.

<sup>39</sup> Sura lxi. 6; ii. 83 (see Rodwell's notes). See Macdonald, *Aspects of Islam*, p. 225 f. It seems probable, from the traditions, that the Prophet did not adopt the name Muhammad till after the Flight, and that he was previously called Abd-Allah.—Rodwell's *Koran*, p. 446 (footnote to lxi. 6). See however ERE. vii. 873. Later theologians gave him 30, 300, or even 1,000 names.—ERE. viii. 872. art. MUHAMMAD. Muhammad Ali, *Muhammad the Prophet*, Ch. IV., gives 16 prophecies about the advent of Muhammad.

Muhammad.<sup>40</sup> The other is the claim put forward in the Qur'ān that although the earlier prophets had taught monotheism, their successors had allowed their true teachings to be forgotten or mixed up with undesirable ingredients and that, in conformity with later beliefs, the earlier scriptures too had been tampered with and corrupted.<sup>41</sup> Later Muslim theologians believed also that many passages alluding to Muhammad had been deliberately expunged or altered or perversely interpreted, when retained, to defeat his claim to be recognised as the Last Prophet.<sup>42</sup> Muhammad had perhaps hoped that by putting himself in the prophetic line of Moses and Christ, he would be able to win the support of the Jews and the Christians, of whose prophets he always spoke with the greatest reverence.<sup>43</sup> His failure to win them over altered his entire attitude towards these communities, although a superstitious veneration for a revealed book was responsible for a more tolerant attitude towards them than towards people of other faiths. Possibly the nearness of the Day of Judgment which he preached in his earlier career was in the manner of the Jewish prophets, including Jesus, and the virtual abandonment of this idea of the imminence of Divine Judgment, or at least a catastrophe, was due either to his failure to convert the Jews and the Christians wholesale or to his acquisition of temporal power.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>40</sup> See, e.g., *The Book of Religion and Empire*, by 'Ali Tabari (Tr. A. Mingana). See Macdonald, *Aspects of Islam*, p. 234 f., p. 240.

<sup>41</sup> Sura ii. 70-73, 169, 254; iv. 48; v. 16-18, 45. See *Enc. Isl.*, II, p. 1066; Macdonald, *Aspects of Islam*, Lect. VII, esp. pp. 219-22.

<sup>42</sup> History has a curious habit of repeating itself. "The Shi'as in their hatred of 'Othmān, their great aversion, assert that the original text has been gravely changed and even mutilated. The Khārijites exclude the 12th Sura, which they treat as a romantic story."—Lammens, *Islām: Beliefs and Institutions*, p. 33. See *Enc. Isl.*, II, pp. 1070-71; Sir William Muir, *The Mohammedan Controversy and other articles*, p. 150; *Life of Mohammad*, p. xxiii f.

<sup>43</sup> The Muhammadans believe that the faults in action and knowledge of the prophets to be found in the scriptures of other religions are partly due no doubt to their human nature but they are also partly due to fabrications of the Jews and Christians.—See *Al Bayan* (Introduction to the Commentary on the Holy Qoran), p. 193, by M. A. M. Abdul Haqq.

<sup>44</sup> Lammens. *op. cit.*, p. 47. The doctrine of the future life was preached in the early days as a warning of the approaching end of the world and the Day

Muhammad's conception of the function and power of a prophet seems to have undergone considerable modification in course of his ministry. His original intention seems to have been to go back to the later Jewish conception of a prophet who is a messenger of God, no doubt, but who has no superhuman pretensions. His greatest objection to Christianity was that it had deified Christ and Mary and reduced God to a third of three.<sup>45</sup> He vehemently denounced what he considered to be a tritheism and repeatedly urged that Christ was a man and an apostle of God like other prophets before him. While he was quite willing, therefore, to believe that Christ was immaculately conceived, performed many miracles and even escaped the Cross (a likeness of Jesus being really crucified), he systematically rejected the idea of the divine sonship of Jesus (as of Ezra)<sup>46</sup> although assigning to him a distinctive position among the prophets by calling him the Spirit of God or the Word which God conveyed into Mary.<sup>47</sup> Conformably to this line of thought,

of Judgment; yet he had afterwards to make the martyrs in his cause enter paradise at once, and his enemies enter hell immediately after death—a belief not easily reconciled with the former.—ERE. viii. 875. See Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 201 f.

<sup>45</sup> Muhammad thought that the Christian Trinity was composed of God, Mary and Christ and that Gabriel was the Holy Ghost. See Sura v. 77-9, 116; iv. 169. It has been suggested that the mistake of Muhammad arose from the fact that the word *Rouah*, the Holy Ghost, is of the feminine gender in some Oriental tongues and is figuratively styled the mother of Christ in the gospel of the Nazarenes. (See in this connection Choyne, *Traditions and Beliefs of Ancient Israel*, p. 20 f.) But, as Gibbon points out, "the Christians of the seventh century had insensibly relapsed into a semblance of paganism: the public and private vows were addressed to the relics and images that disgraced the temples of the East: the throne of the Almighty was darkened by a cloud of martyrs, and saints, and angels, the objects of popular veneration; and the Collyridian heretics, who flourished in the fruitful soil of Arabia, invested the Virgin Mary with the name and honours of a goddess."—Gibbon, *op. cit.*, Ch. I, Vol. II, p. 432 (with footnote). See ERE. viii. 476.

<sup>46</sup> Sura ix. 30. That the Jews regarded Ezra as a son of God is due to Muhammad's own invention.—Rodwell's *Koran*, p. 524, f.n. 9. See also Gibbon, *loc. cit.*, p. 432 (with footnote). See also Sura ii. 261 and cf. Neh. ii. 13.

<sup>47</sup> See Sura iii. 48. For the Christology of the Qur'an, see Lammens, *op. cit.*, p. 50 f. and art. JESUS CHRIST in Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 229 f. (esp. p. 233 where a *Hadith* has been quoted). In his celestial journey, however, Muhammad saw Jesus in one of the lower heavens. See Hughes, *op. cit.*,



Muhammad calls him a messenger and servant of Allāh and thinks that nothing prevented Allāh from endowing him (Muhammad) with the power of performing miracles except that these had been treated as lies by their contemporaries, when performed by earlier prophets.<sup>48</sup> The miracle on which he bases his prophetship<sup>49</sup> during this period is the miracle of the Qur'ān; but for this it is not necessary to suppose that he was anything more than a mere man.<sup>50</sup> In fact, a tradition records that his right of interceding with God accrued after God had forgiven his sins, both first and last.<sup>51</sup>

But another strain of thought soon crossed this line of thinking. Performance of miracles had come to be looked upon as a part of prophetic function and the Jews and Christians could score an obvious victory over the Apostle of Islām by pointing to his incapacity in this respect.<sup>52</sup> Then, again, Christ had been regarded as sinless and he was believed to

pp. 235, 351-52. See Wensinck, *op. cit.*, pp. 243-44 (reappearance of Jesus to slay the anti-Christ); Macdonald, *Aspects of Islam*, p. 244 f; Sir W. Muir, *Life of Mohammad*, p. 143 f.

The Ghassāniyas alone denied the apostleship of Jesus.—See Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 114. *Per contra* see Ghazālī who avowed that 'Christianity would be the absolute expression of truth were it not for its dogma of Trinity and its denial of the divine mission of Muhammad' (See Lammens, *op. cit.*, p. 121).

<sup>48</sup> For the most part the old prophets only serve to introduce a little variety in point of form, for they are almost in every case facsimiles of Mohammed himself.—Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, p. 29.

<sup>49</sup> According to Islam miracles happen either to support Allāh's Prophets in a visible way (*mu'djiza*) or to signify Divine Grace towards the saint through whom they take place (*karāma*).—See Wensinck, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-26; also Macdonald, *Rel. Att. and Life in Isl.*, p. 49 f. (discussing Ibn Khaldūn's theory); Macdonald, *Asp. of Isl.*, p. 231. For the conception of miracles in Islām, see Muḥammad Ali, *The Religion of Islām*, p. 240 f.

<sup>50</sup> See Suras xvii. 92-7; xxix. 49; xiii. 27-30; xviii. 110. See Macdonald, *Aspects of Islam*, p. 232. See also Nicholson, *Idea of Personality in Sufism*, p. 58: Both the Sufistic *walī* and the Shi'ite Imām are claimed to be "divine men, really one with God, whereas Mohammed, as described in the Koran, is no more than a man subject to human weaknesses, who receives at intervals the Divine revelations, not from God but from an angel." For the origin of the cult of saints in Islam, see Westermarck, *Pag. Sur. in Moh. Civ.*, p. 94 f.

<sup>51</sup> Mishḥāt, Bk. XXIII. Ch. XII, quoted by Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 233 (art. JESUS CHRIST). Cf. Sura xlviii. 2.

<sup>52</sup> It is interesting to note that the Christian claim was responsible for the introduction of the miraculous into Zoroastrianism also.—See Iḥalla, *Zoroastrian Theology*, p. 195.

have bodily ascended to heaven after his crucifixion.<sup>53</sup> The Qur'ān does not contain the full reply to these allegations of inferiority but it does contain the germs. Just as an obscure Vedic passage would often be elaborated in the Purāṇas, so also on the few stray and obscure passages of the Qur'ān were built up in the Traditional literature (*hadith*) many stories of Muhammad's achievements in the fields of prophecy and miracle. In the Qur'ān itself there is reference to the splitting of the moon (liv. 1-2),<sup>54</sup> angelic help at the battle of Badr (iii. 120)<sup>55</sup> and the night journey from Mecca to Jerusalem (xvii. 1). But the Traditionalists, obviously keeping in mind what miracles Jesus and other prophets had performed, ascribed similar works to Muhammad<sup>56</sup> and went one step further by supposing that, mounting on the mysterious Burāq, he had ascended in the body, while awake, to heaven and conversed with God, thus excelling in a way the feat of Jesus;<sup>57</sup> they also enumerated the events, predicted by him, which took place either during his life-time or after his death.<sup>58</sup> In a similar fashion the sinlessness of the prophets, at least after accepting their vocation, became a dogma in

<sup>53</sup> The Talmudists mentioned nine (or thirteen) individuals who were translated to heaven.—See Rodwell's *Koran*, p. 115, n. 2. (Sura xix. 58).

<sup>54</sup> See Rodwell's *Koran*, p. 64, n. 1; Hughes, *Dic. of Isl.*, pp. 350-51.

<sup>55</sup> This occurs in a Medinese Sura. See also another Medinese verse, Sura viii. 17. See also xxxiii. 10.

<sup>56</sup> For a list see Hughes, *Dic. of Isl.*, p. 351; 'Ali Tabari, *op. cit.*, p. 30 f.; ERE. vii. 878. Muhammad's own belief was that "no apostle had come with miracles unless by the leave of God" (Sura xiii. 33). See Bell, *op. cit.*, n. 198 f; Margoliouth, *Ear. Dev. Muh.*, p. 239 f; Gibbon, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 436-37; Sir William Muir, *Life of Mohammed*, pp. xlvii, lviii. For a severe criticism of the miracles ascribed to Muhammad by the Traditional Literature, see Sir William Muir, *The Apology of Al Kindy*, pp. 53-62. For the assimilation of Muhammad to Christ, see Guillaume, *op. cit.*, p. 132 f.

<sup>57</sup> Some commentators make it a vision as indicated in Sura xvii. 62. But the orthodox creed demands a belief in the reality of the night journey and the ascension. See Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology*, p. 298 (Appendix 1—A Short Creed by Al-Ash'ari); also p. 313. See Muhammad Ali, *The Holy Quran*, p. 572, footnote 1441. A full treatment of the subject is to be found in J. C. Archer, *Mystical Elements in Mohammed*, pp. 44-55: he calls it "a mystic experience, a breaking through into the unseen world, a snatching away in the spirit, and withal, a conviction" (p. 49). See *Enc. Isl.*, II, p. 553, art. ISRA'

<sup>58</sup> 'Ali Tabari, *op. cit.*, p. 37 f.

later Muslim belief although earlier accounts were entirely different and even in canonical *hadith* "Muhammad's unpeccability is never mentioned,"<sup>59</sup> not to talk of his freedom from polytheism at all times.<sup>60</sup> The whole belief was evidently modelled on Christianity and gave rise to the tradition that the heart of Muhammad was taken out by two angels and washed clean with snow of all sinful elements in order to qualify him for his unique relationship to divine revelation.<sup>61</sup>

The last stage is represented by Muhammad's belief that not only was he a prophet after the manner of earlier prophets but also an Apostle destined to be the last one. He no longer believes that "to its own book shall every nation be summoned" <sup>62</sup> on the Day of Judgment and that salvation was not of the Muslims only but also of the Jews, the Christians, and the Sabeites.<sup>63</sup> No difference is made between the prophets of old so as to give any pre-eminence to the followers of Moses and Jesus, and all people are expected to receive Islām as an indispensable complement to their faith in order to be saved.<sup>64</sup> "This day have I perfected your religion for you and have completed my favours and blessings upon you, and I have been pleased by making Islām your religion."<sup>65</sup> The

<sup>59</sup> ERE. xi. 568, art. SIN (Muslim). Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

<sup>60</sup> See Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 192. It has been pointed out that one of the sons of Muhammad bore the pagan name 'Abd Manāf. "Sprenger has conjectured that 'Abd Allah, Tāhir, al-Tayib and other epithets were later substituted for the name 'Abd Manāf."—Wensinck, *op. cit.*, pp. 240, 242.

<sup>61</sup> Margoliouth, *Ear. Dev. Muh.*, p. 248. Gabriel is also credited with the same function. See M. Ali's *Holy Quran*, p. 1201, note 2761. Also Archer, *Mystical Elements in Mohammed*, p. 41 f, for versions and interpretations.

<sup>62</sup> Sura xlv. 27. Cf. 2 Tim. 3.16: "All scripture inspired of God is profitable for teaching, for reproof, for amendment, and for moral discipline, to make the man of God proficient and equip him with good work of every kind." See Bell. *op. cit.*, p. 124.

<sup>63</sup> See Rodwell's Koran, p. 373, n. 2 to Sura ii. 59; v. 73.

<sup>64</sup> Sura ii. 130, 285 (thus abrogating or contradicting ii. 254 and some verses in xix and xvii. 57); iv. 151. See Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 113. For the development of the idea that Islām is the only true religion, see Sir William Muir, *Life of Mohammad*, pp. 150-54; also T. W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islām*, p. 3 f.

<sup>65</sup> Sura v. 5. See Muhammad Ali, *The Religion of Islām*, p. 208 f.

revelation 'Let there be no compulsion in religion'<sup>66</sup> was never intended to be applied to the idolaters of Arabia (or to apostates),<sup>67</sup> either in theory or in practice, for iconoclasm (and extreme punishment of infidels and apostates) was a religious duty with Islām; to the people possessing a 'scripturary' religion, toleration was conceded in theory but often administered with galling severity in practice.<sup>68</sup> To quote Margoliouth,<sup>69</sup> "The ultimate system adopted was to permit the existence of communities which professed to follow a revealed book, but to disarm them and make them tributary; this condition is identified by some purists with that of slaves. The existence of communities to which this description did not apply was forbidden."<sup>70</sup> Possibly the older view, 'The Qur'ān in one hand and sword in the other' as the method of Muhammadan conversion, requires a little modification to-day, but there can be no doubt that at times and in places the victorious armies of Islām did follow this fanatical procedure in times of war,<sup>71</sup> remembering that 'only the faithful are brethren,'<sup>72</sup> and that, in times of

<sup>66</sup> Sura ii. 257. See iii. 19. See *The Apology of Al Kindy*, p. 98.

<sup>67</sup> A well-authenticated tradition ascribes to Muhammad the saying "I am ordered to make war on people till they say: There is no God but Allāh."—See Wensinck, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 19. See also Sura xvi. 108.

<sup>68</sup> See *The Apology of Al Kindy*, p. 97. See Margoliouth, *Ear. Dev. Muh.*, p. 104 f. The toleration did not extend to Arab Jews or Christians (p. 105).—See pp. 118 f., 132; also Sir William Muir, *Life of Mohammad*, p. 454.

<sup>69</sup> ERE. viii. 877. See Hughes, *Dic. Isl.*, p. 248 f., art. JIHAD (The whole article is illuminating as regards the war ethics of the Muslims). Jihād was regarded as the sixth pillar of Islam by the Kharijites.—See Lammens, *op. cit.*, p. 62. See Guillaume, *Traditions of Islam* (1924), p. 110 f., on Jihād; *Enc. Isl.*, I. i. 1041.

<sup>70</sup> Margoliouth admits, however, that "exemption from military service and from the burdensome ceremonies of Islam aided the tolerated communities in a variety of ways, and counteracted some of the effects of humiliation and oppression."—*Early Development of Muhammadanism*, pp. 100-01. See T. W. Arnold, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-62.

<sup>71</sup> In *The Apology of Al Kindy* (tr. Sir William Muir), p. 81, occurs, for instance, the following sentence: "Instead of miracles, the claim of thy Master was enforced simply by the sword." (See also pp. 95, 100.) See art. PERSECUTION (Muhammadan) in ERE. ix. 607; also the saying of Muhammad, quoted in Sir W. Muir, *Life of Mohammad*, p. 448: "There shall not cease from the midst of my people a party engaged in fighting for the truth, until Anti-christ appear." See T. W. Arnold, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 75 and 57 (the ordinance of Umar).

<sup>72</sup> Sura xlix. 10.

peace, they heaped such indignities, inconveniences and insecurities on the adherents of other faiths that the civil and moral coercion amounted almost to a forcible conversion. When Muhammad conceived Islām to be destined for the whole world—as “an admonition to all created beings,”<sup>73</sup> he could not obviously regard himself as no better than his predecessors nor could he concede that each nation was to have its own prophet.<sup>74</sup> He claimed that he had been sent as “mercy unto all creatures” and that to him belonged the unique distinction of closing the prophetic line altogether: henceforth salvation was of the Muslims only<sup>75</sup> and the Qur’ān was the uncreated word of God much as the Logos was in Christianity. He thereby negated in practice, in so far as it related to the future, his own revelation: “To each age its Book. What He pleaseth doth God abrogate or confirm: for with Him is the source of revelation.”<sup>76</sup>

To this stage belongs the famous declaration of Muslim faith (*shahāda*): “There is no God but Allāh and Muhammad is the Apostle of Allāh.” The Jews had preached that

<sup>73</sup> See Suras xxxviii, 87 f; xxxvi, 69 f; xxi, 107; xxv, 1.

The doctrine of predestination compels the Muslims to believe, however, that even in the remotest future the distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims will persist. How else would this verse be fulfilled?: “Moreover had thy Lord pleased, He had assuredly made mankind of one religion: but those only to whom thy Lord hath granted his mercy will cease to differ. And unto this hath He created them; for the word of thy Lord shall be fulfilled, “I will assuredly fill hell with Djinn and men together” (Sura xi, 120).

<sup>74</sup> See Wensinck, *op. cit.* pp. 5-6; T. W. Arnold, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-31; Muhammad Ali, *The Religion of Islām*, p. 258 f.

<sup>75</sup> Thus in Sura vii, 155-56, God speaks to Moses in the following way:—“I will inflict my chastisement on whom I will, and my mercy embraceth all things, and I write it down for those who fear Me, and pay the alms, and believe in our signs, who follow the Apostle, the unlettered Prophet—whom they find described with them in the Law and Evangel. What is right will he enjoin them, and forbid them what is wrong, and will allow them healthful viands, and prohibit the impure, and will ease them of their burden, and of the yokes which were upon them; and those who believe in him, and strengthen him, and help him, and follow the light which hath been sent down with him,—these are they with whom it shall be well.” (Cf. Christ’s saying: “For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light.”)

<sup>76</sup> Sura xiii, 38-39. Md. Ali translates the verses in a different way and with a different meaning (see *Holy Quran*, p. 508).

Yahweh was one Yahweh and Israel was his prophet and the Christians had substituted for the prophetship of the tribe the individual and unique prophetship of Jesus. In the Islāmic formula of faith, while the first or negative half was directed against polytheism of all kinds, the second or positive half was directed against other monotheisms. It is not enough to believe that God is one; it is also necessary to believe in the revelation of God through Muhammad.<sup>77</sup> No longer does he say that he is a mere warner or that he is like one of the Apostles that had gone before or that he came to confirm their messages.<sup>78</sup> He now claims to have come as the special Apostle of the Meccans to preach God's message in the form of an Arabic Qur'ān, and it is not open to them to place him alongside the prophets of other people.<sup>79</sup> He is the last and the best of the Apostles and the Qur'ān is an infallible guide. Muslims are forbidden henceforth to scan the Qur'ān too scrutinisingly and to find out that certain statements there contradict Biblical accounts—that, for instance, Moses' (and Aaron's) sister and Jesus' mother are not identical, that Christ did not escape the Cross,<sup>80</sup> that Baptism was not a dyeing of the Christians' clothes, that no table was sent out of heaven that it might be a recurring festival (the

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Sura lvii. 28: "O ye who believe! fear God and believe in his Apostle: two portions of his mercy will He give you."

<sup>78</sup> See Sura ii. 114: "But until thou follow their religion, neither the Jews nor the Christians will ever be satisfied with thee. Say: verily, guidance of God,—that is the guidance! And if after 'the knowledge' which hath reached thee, thou follow their desires, thou shalt find from God neither helper nor protector. They to whom we have given the book, and who read it as it ought to be read,—these believe therein: but whoso believeth not therein, these are they who shall be the losers." See Lammens, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

<sup>79</sup> See Wensinck, *op. cit.*, pp. 202-03.

<sup>80</sup> On the Quranic view that Christ did not die on the Cross is based the following belief of Mirzā Ghulām Ahmad of Qādiān, the founder of the Ahmadiyya Movement: "Jesus did not die on the cross, but was taken down by his disciples in a swoon, and healed within forty days by a miraculous ointment called, in Persian, *Marhām-i-'Isā*. He then travelled to the East on a mission to the ten lost tribes of the children of Israel, believed by Ahmad to be the peoples of Afghanistan and Kashmir, and finally died at the age of 120, and was buried in Khān Yār Street, in Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir." (H. A. Walter, *The Ahmadiyya Movement*, p. 90). For similar belief in Christian sects, see Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

Eucharist) to the Christians <sup>81</sup>—and that for certain other statements the authority is not the Bible but the Talmudic literature and certain Christian heresies.<sup>82</sup> The faithful are to learn their Biblical history from the Qur'ān which is the revealed word of God:<sup>83</sup> any discrepancy between it and the Bible is to be set down to the loss of tradition among the Jews or to parts of the Bible being composed by secular hands.<sup>84</sup> For the message of salvation that he brought Muhammad could claim that for all times to come peace should be invoked on him personally whenever his name is uttered and Divine mercy invoked on him and his descendants in the daily prayers of the faithful <sup>85</sup> in addition to the acknowledgment of his Apostleship.

How far Muhammad conceived his message to be universal is difficult to ascertain. He thought as a Semite and

<sup>81</sup> Hughes, *Dic. Isl.*, p. 54, art. CHRISTIANITY, and p. 110, art. EUCHARIST. A critical revision would have cut out the most glaring anachronisms: the confusion between the two Marys (19, 22), between Haman, minister of King Abasuerus, and the minister of Moses' Pharaoh (Qoran 28. 5-7, 38; 40. 38); the fusion into one of the legends of Gideon, Saul, David and Goliath (2. 250, etc.); the story of the Samaritan (*sic*) who is alleged to have made the Jews worship the golden calf (20. 87, etc.).—Lammens, *op. cit.*, p. 39. See, however, Muhammad Ali, *The Holy Quran*, p. 117, footnote 331. See Hughes, *Dic. Isl.*, art. 'IMRAN; also *Enc. Isl.*, II, pp. 475-76.

<sup>82</sup> Muhammad's justification for treating the Jewish written and unwritten laws on the same level is that the Jews themselves believed that they had both been revealed to Moses on Mount Sinai. The Musalmans followed the Jews in this respect and treated the traditions of the Prophet as equally binding on the faithful with the Quranic revelations.

<sup>83</sup> "Whatever Allah quotes in the Kuran from Moses or other Prophets, from Pharaoh or from Satan, is the speech of Allah in relation to theirs. The speech of Allah is uncreated, but the speech of Moses and other creatures is created."—Art. 3 of The Fikh Akbar II (Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 189). See Sura xcvi. 2-3.

<sup>84</sup> See Khwāja Kamaluddin, *Islam and Zoroastrianism*, p. 170 f; Margoliouth, *Ear. Dev. Muh.*, pp. 53, 64, 232 f; Muhammad Ali, *The Religion of Islām*, p. 211 f.

The number of sacred books delivered to mankind is said to have been 104; of these ten were given to Adam, fifty to Seth (a name not mentioned in the Qur'ān), thirty to Enoch, ten to Abraham, the Taurāt to Moses, the Zabūr to David, the Injil to Jesus, and the Qur'ān to Muhammad. The one hundred scriptures given to Adam, Seth, Enoch, and Abraham are termed *Ṣahifah* (a pamphlet), and the other four *Kitāb* (a book); but all that is necessary for the Muslim to know of these inspired records is supposed to have been retained in the Qur'ān.—Hughes, *Dic. Isl.*, art. PROPHETS, p. 475.

<sup>85</sup> These form part of the Tahiya and the Tashahhud in the Ṣalāt (namāz or daily prayer). See Hughes, *Dic. Isl.*, art. PRAYER, p. 468. See 'Ali Tabari

regarded himself as confirming the message of Biblical prophets and a few others whose identity cannot be definitely established now.<sup>66</sup> He was the divinely chosen prophet of the Arabs and at one time accepted the position that other nations had their own prophets by whose revelations they would be judged on the Day of Judgment. He undertook to rid Arabia of its idolatry and polytheism, and he conceded that on the Day of Judgment other Apostles would similarly act as witnesses in respect of their own people. Tradition, however, ascribes to him a number of letters written to contemporary potentates—the Emperor at Byzantium, the King of Persia, the Negus of Abyssinia and the Governor of Egypt—and inviting them to embrace Islām. If their authenticity can be established—Wensinck thinks they are “of a doubtful authority, if indeed they are not wholly legendary,”<sup>67</sup>—they will prove that

(*op. cit.*, p. 40) who connects this with Sura xciv. 1-4. (For Jewish and Christian influence on Muslim prayer, see Bell, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-43.)

<sup>66</sup> The names of 25 prophets are said to occur in the Qur’ān, but there is doubt about two (Aesop and Alexander the Great). Muhammad is related to have said that there were 124,000 prophets and 315 (313?) apostles. Nine of the apostles or messengers—Noah, Abraham, David, Jacob, Joseph, Job, Moses, Jesus and Muhammad—are called “possessors of constancy,” and six—Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muhammad—are dignified with special titles (Muhammad being called Rasūlullāh, the Messenger of God).—See Hughes, *Dic. Isl.*, p. 475. See Wensinck, *op. cit.*, pp. 202-04, 267. Post-canonical Tradition shows a perpetual tendency to enlarge the number of Prophets as well as that of Apostles. The latter do not exceed the number of 315, whereas that of the Prophets varies between 1,000 and 224,000.—Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 204. In the Kuran a difference is made between the Apostle and the Prophet, in so far as the former is representative of a community or people (*umma*) to which God has sent him. . . The Kuranic series of Apostles comprises Nūh (Noah), Lūt (Lot), Ismāil, Mūsā, Shu’aib (Jethro), Hūd, Sālih and ‘Isā (Jesus). The number of Prophets mentioned in the Kuran is larger. . . They are not sent each to a different people but they walk in the footsteps of the Apostles, their predecessors. Consequently, according to the doctrine of the Kuran, every Apostle is as such also a Prophet; but not every Prophet is at the same time an Apostle. This is also the view of early Christianity.—Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 204. See also Sura ii. 254: “Some of the apostles We have endowed more highly than others.” See also Suras ii. 137; vii. 5; also Wensinck, *op. cit.*, pp. 177, 203.

<sup>67</sup> Wensinck, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8. But see *Ency. Bri.*, Vol. 15, art. MOHAMMED. See Sir W. Muir, *Life of Mohammad*, Ch. XX; T. W. Arnold, *op. cit.*, p. 28.



Muhammad intended to carry out in practice the Divine injunction, "We have not sent thee otherwise than to mankind at large, to announce and to warn."<sup>88</sup> We now see the full significance of the *shahāda*. Muhammad wished to steer clear of the weakness of Judaism which did not give to prophets a place in the creed on account of its strict monotheism, and of Christianity which elevated the prophet to such a divine height that monotheism itself was in danger. The *shahāda* preserved both Jewish monotheism and Christian emphasis on the importance of the prophet.

Matters became complicated when the Apostle was conceived to combine in himself the functions of a warner on earth and a witness and an intercessor before God, the traditional literature going as usual beyond the Quranic position. There is every reason to think that while in its theory of God Muhammadanism went back to Judaism, in its theory of Prophet it absorbed more and more Christian ideas. It is difficult to see how if God had predetermined certain souls for salvation and others for hell-fire, intercession could be of any avail;<sup>89</sup> but in Muhammadanism, as in other religions, the logic of the heart was allowed to overthrow theological consistency

<sup>88</sup> Sura xxxiv. 27. See also xxi. 107; v. 5 (See M. A. Alam, *Islam and Christianity*, Ch. V; T. W. Arnold, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-6.)

<sup>89</sup> The Wāhhābis distinguish three types of intercession of which one only is applicable to Muhammad's intercession with Allāh. First, there is "the intercession from regard" (*Shafā'at-i-IVajāhah*) as when a king pardons a criminal on the intercession of the vizier whose position merits consideration of a request from him. Secondly, there is "the intercession from affection" (*Shafā'at-i-makabbah*) as when a king pardons a criminal on the intercession of the queen or the princes whom he loves. But to suppose that God would pardon a sinner out of regard or affection for any individual is a *Shirkul-taṣarruf*, ascribing power to others than God. The true interpretation of intercession is that a king may himself wish to pardon the criminal but fears that the majesty of the law would thereby be lowered. At this point the vizier (or the queen or a prince) intercedes with the tacit consent of the king. This is "the intercession by permission" (*Shafā'at-i-ba'izn*) and Muhammad will have this power with God. The Wāhhābis hold that Muhammad does not have this power now but will possess it at the Day of Judgment; but all other Musalmans believe that he has it now.—See Hughes, *Dic. Isl.*, art. SHIRK, pp. 579-80. See also *Enc. Isl.*, IV, p. 378 f. (esp. p. 380).

and the orthodox community finally accepted the intercessory power of the Prophet as a part of the creed.<sup>90</sup> The most intractable passage is Sūra ii. 45 : " Fear a day in which a soul shall not avail for a soul at all, nor shall any intercession be accepted from them, nor shall any ransom be taken, nor any help be given them." <sup>91</sup> while Sūra xxxix. 45 lays down that intercession is wholly with God. But possibly here too Muhammad had to bow down to a tribal superstition. The Meccans evidently believed that lower gods could intercede with Allāh <sup>92</sup> and at a moment of weakness Muhammad too had conceded that of Al-Lāt, Al-Uzzā and Al-Manāt, the three exalted female deities, intercession might be expected—a statement which he later on ascribed to Satanic suggestion and withdrew.<sup>93</sup> Apparently he felt that a substitute was wanted but that the supreme authority of Allāh must at the same time be maintained. The Qur'ān nowhere mentions explicitly that Muhammad will act as an intercessor, but Muhammadan theologians have professed to find a justification for their belief in his advocacy in Sūra xvii. 82 : " It may be that thy Lord will raise thee to a glorious station,"<sup>94</sup> and in Sūra xciii. 5 : " And thy Lord shall assuredly be bounteous to thee and thou be satisfied." The Mu'tazilites felt justified in rejecting the doctrine of intercession as being contrary to the main teaching of the Qur'ān (and also because it seriously affected the question of Divine justice for voluntary sin) and taught that no deliverance of one who had entered Hell was possible;<sup>95</sup> but, possibly under Christian in-

<sup>90</sup> See Waṣīyat Abī Hanīfa, art. 25, and Fikh Akbar II, art. 20, in Wensinck, *op. cit.*, pp. 130, 194 (also pp. 180 f and 61 f).

<sup>91</sup> See also lxxiv. 49; lxxxii. 19.

<sup>92</sup> Suras x. 19; xliii. 86.

<sup>93</sup> Sura liii. 19-20. See Rodwell's Koran, p. 56, footnote 6; Sir William Muir, *Life of Mohammad*, p. 81 f.

<sup>94</sup> In Rodwell's Koran this is xvii. 82. The uncertainty of interpretation is brought out by the fact that this identical passage is recited during the Azān (call to public prayer) by religious Muslims as a prayer to God that He might grant the Maqām Maḥmūd to the Prophet.—See Hughes, *Dic. Isl.*, p. 318, art. MAQĀM MAḤMUD.

See also Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

<sup>95</sup> See Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

fluence, orthodoxy veered round to the view that Muhammad was "a living intercessor at the throne of God."<sup>96</sup> Obviously this intercession, consistently with the general tenor of Quranic teaching on the subject, must be permitted by Allāh,<sup>97</sup> and this permission is granted either to pure beings like the angels (Sūras xl. 7 ; xlii. 3 ; xxi. 28-29) or to those who bear witness to the truth (Sūra xliii. 86)<sup>98</sup> and whose words are approved by God (Sūra xx. 108) ; and again such intercession is permissible only in respect of those who have entered into covenant with the God of Mercy (Sūra xix. 90).<sup>99</sup> The final opinion of Muslim orthodoxy is that Muhammad intercedes for those who have committed great sins<sup>100</sup> and the right of intercession extends also to angels, prophets, the learned and the martyrs.<sup>101</sup> To quote Wensinck : " In early Christian literature we find the angels, the patriarchs, the Prophets, the Apostles and the Martyrs as those who will intercede on behalf of sinners. The same classes of men are the holders of the privilege of intercession in Islām."<sup>102</sup> The superiority of Muhammad is established by the fact that when on the Day of Judgment the Faithful will approach other prophets for intercession they will all excuse themselves but Muhammad will, with the permission of Allāh, "rescue from Hell all those in whose heart a grain of faith has persisted."<sup>103</sup>

<sup>96</sup> The Wahhābis state that the intercession of their prophet will only be by the permission (*Idn*) of God at the *last day*, and that there is no intercession for sins until the Day of Judgment. The teaching of the Qur'ān and the Traditions seems to be in favour of this view.—Hughes, *Dic. of Isl.*, p. 214, art. INTERCESSION.

<sup>97</sup> Suras ii. 256 ; x. 3 ; xx. 108 ; xxxiv. 22 ; lxxviii. 38.

<sup>98</sup> Muhammadan commentators include here Jesus and Ezra.—See Rodwell's *Koran*, p. 186, n.1.

<sup>99</sup> There could be no intercession for infidels (Sura ix. 114).—See Wensinck, *op. cit.*, pp. 183, 239.

<sup>100</sup> See Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 182 f. The Mu'tazilites say that Muhammad's intercession is not for the prevention of punishment but for the increase of merit.—See Hughes, *Dic. Isl.*, art. INTERCESSION, p. 215.

<sup>101</sup> Hughes, *Dic. Isl.*, p. 215.

<sup>102</sup> Wensinck, *op. cit.*, pp. 180, 182. Even Allāh Himself is supposed to intercede (p. 182).

<sup>103</sup> Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 182. The traditions are not definite about the place where the intercession would be made—it might be either at the bridge (over

Apparently here was something to match Jesus' descent into Hell to release its inmates. The last transformation in this line of thought is the doctrine of the Light of Muhammad<sup>104</sup> which is supposed to have existed before all creation, being the first thing to be created by God, and to have given rise to all other things, including the heavens, the paradises and hells, the throne of God, the angels, and the mind. The assimilation with the pre-existent Messiah of the Christians is almost complete in this conception, the only distinction being that whereas Christ was regarded as co-eternal with God and was himself invested with the creative function, the light of Muhammad is a thing created from the light of God<sup>105</sup> and only furnishes the material of subsequent creation. Similar to this type of thought is the belief that "the Prophet's call was at least coeval with the creation of Adam," that he was appointed to the prophetic office when Adam was only half

which all souls have to pass after death) or at the balance (where merits are weighed) or at the basin (the pond of abundance).—*Ibid.*, p. 169. (Another tradition substitutes the reading of the book for the pond of abundance.)

<sup>104</sup> The following description from Hughes, *Dic. Isl.*, art. AL-HAQIQATU 'L-MUHAMMADIYAH, p. 162, will suffice :

The Prophet said, "The first thing created was the light of your Prophet, which was created from the light of God. This light of mine roamed about wherever God willed, and when the Almighty resolved to make the world, he divided this light of Muhammad into four portions; from the first he created the Pen (*qalam*); from the second the Tablet (*lawh*); from the third, the highest heaven and the throne of God ('*arsh*); the fourth portion was divided into four sections: from the first were created the *Hamalatu'l-'Arsh*, or the eight angels who support the throne of God; from the second, the *kursi*, or lower throne of God; from the third, the angels; and the fourth, being divided into four subdivisions, from it were created (1) the firmaments or seven heavens, (2) the earth, (3) the seven paradises and seven hells, (4) and again from a fourth section were created (1) the light of the eyes, (2) the light of the mind, (3) the light of the love of the Unity of God, (4) the remaining portion of creation." See also *The Legacy of Islam*, p. 225; Nicholson, *Idea of Per. in Sufism*, pp. 58-60; Sir William Muir, *The Mohammedan Controversy and other articles*, pp. 77-79.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. The Nicene Creed : 'Light of light.'

Jili considers the created Rūh or the archetypal Spirit of Mohammed as a mode of the uncreated Holy Divine Spirit and as the medium through which God becomes conscious of Himself in creation."—Nicholson, *Studies in Isl. Mys.*, p. 110 (See also *Idea of Personality in Sufism*, p. 46).

created.<sup>106</sup> The conception of the Mahdi or the Guide,<sup>107</sup> who, according to Muslim tradition, will appear in the last days to "fill the earth with equity and justice" and to "give strength and stability to Islām," has obvious analogy with the Christian belief about the sending of the Comforter and the second advent of Christ and was apparently prompted by the latter, only that the orthodox believe that both the Mahdi and the Messiah (Jesus)<sup>108</sup> would come to "fill the whole world with the knowledge of God." It is not impossible that both in Christianity and in Islām the idea of a last prophet was connected with the belief in the imminence of the Day of Judgment and that in both a change in that belief led to the idea of a return of the Prophet during the last days.

We may now return from this digression about the nature and function of Muhammad as the Prophet of God to a consideration of the nature of God as revealed in the Qur'ān. As is to be expected, the hostility of Muhammad to all sorts of polytheism made him disown not only his country's gods but also the Christian trinity and go back to the awful majesty of the Jewish unitary God.<sup>109</sup> The use he made of Allāh was

<sup>106</sup> Margoliouth *Ear. Dev. Muh.*, pp. 242, 248. In a tradition Allāh is made to declare: "Had it not been for thee, I had not created the worlds."—Macdonald, *Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, p. 10. In his *Mishkāt al-Anwār* Ghazālī introduces a being called by him *al-Mut'ā*, "the Obeyed One," which Nicholson interprets as "the archetypal Spirit of Muhammad, the Heavenly Man created in the image of God and regarded as a Cosmic Power on whom depends the order and preservation of the universe." If Nicholson's interpretation is correct, "Ghazālī believed that while God in His essence is known only to those who have realised His unity in the all-consuming mystical experience, His will and providence are manifested in the world through the idea embodied, as it were, in the person of Muhammad" (*Idea of Per. in Sufism*, pp. 46-47). See also p. 63.

<sup>107</sup> See art. AL-MAHDI in Hughes, *Dic. Isl.*, p. 305; THE MAHDI in M. Cañnay, *Enc. of Rel.*, p. 228; Wensinck, *op. cit.*, pp. 243-44. About the conflict of opinions regarding the appearance of the Mahdī, see Guillaume, *The Traditions of Islam*, pp. 91-93.

<sup>108</sup> The founder of the Ahmadiya movement (Mirza Ghulam Ahmad) claimed to have combined in himself the functions of both.—See A. Walter, *The Ahmadiya Movement*, p. 25 f. For the ingenious way in which Muslim traditionalists reconciled Muhammad being the last Prophet and the Messiah descending on the last days and adding to the lawful, see Guillaume, *The Traditions of Islam*, pp. 72-73. For a contrary view about the advent of Jesus, *ibid.*, pp. 157-58. See also Muhammad Ali, *The Religion of Islām*, p. 260 f.

<sup>109</sup> Between God and man there is no direct and regular communication. Every effort to lessen the distance which separates them appears tainted by

was not to what the Jews made of Yahweh, for like unto Moses, God dictated to Muhammad through Gabriel (Jibril) a whole body of social laws in addition to religious prescriptions and ethical principles. As has been well said: "The Qur'an is the general code: social, civil, commercial, military, political, criminal, penal and yet religious."<sup>10</sup> As social regulations presuppose the existence of a community of the faithful, the laws came naturally as revelations in Medina; but the ethical principles of religion and ethics lie scattered in the Meccan Suras, and can be found in a convenient summary in Suras al-Iman and al-Hikmah. Two seemingly contradictory views of God appear in the Qur'an. There is, first, the idea, familiar to students of Rabbinical literature, that an adequate comprehension of the nature of God is beyond the capacity of man, for God is unlike everything that we have experience of in this world. The general tendency of the Qur'an is to prevent the assimilation of God to worldly things: Muhammad knew too well the dangerous tendency of the human mind to rely upon the things of the world in religious devotion. Material objects and heavenly bodies, forces and phenomena of nature, holy persons, and abstractions of thought were being worshipped all around either in pagan or in scriptural religion, and the Jews and Christians were twisting the fatherhood of God (as he thought) into a physical relationship.<sup>11</sup> So, to guard against lapses into idolatry and polytheism, it was necessary to make it clear that God was far

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, a note on the doctrine of polytheism. The soul, in its struggle to gain existence, exists only on the aid of any intermediary. In the most idealised personification of the prophet the prophet Muhammad is never shown except as the instrument of revelation. Even then he did not receive the trust direct, but through the intermediation of an angel. Lammien, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-14. See Marshall, *Rel. and Life in Islam*, p. 38.

<sup>11</sup> *Al-Furqaan Khatibah*, *The Threshold of Truth*, p. 127 (quoting Devonport).

<sup>12</sup> The attitude of the Muhammanadans towards the idea of God as Father may be gathered from the following typical quotation: "We must realise, if we are really advanced, that our relation to God is unique. It is neither like the relation of a son to his father nor like anything in the world. . . . We must fear, love and respect Him at the same time. . . . The word "Father" indicative of this attitude of man towards God? Is it not using too familiar a word? . . . As a matter of fact, to apply to the Deity terms indicative of human relationship is

removed from all worldly objects in quality and that there was nothing like unto Him.<sup>112</sup> This could lead to only two conclusions, namely, that Allāh was absolutely indefinite and that He could be described only negatively. A third conclusion is also possible, namely, that Allāh is absolutely incomprehensible and unknowable; but that tendency was checked by the consideration that in that case doubt would be cast on the existence of Allāh—a position which the Qur'ān could never be expected to countenance. But the other two tendencies became evident in "the doctrines of *tanzīh* (removal) and *mukhālafa* (difference), *i.e.*, the removal from Allāh of all qualities of impermanence, and assertion of the essential difference of his qualities and the similarly named qualities of human beings,"<sup>113</sup> and also in the Mu'tazilite idea of God which practically consists of a string of negations. The following quotation from al-Ash'arī describes the Mu'tazilite position:<sup>114</sup> "Allāh is one, without equal, hearing, seeing; He is no body, nor object, nor volume, nor form, nor flesh, nor blood, nor person, nor substance, nor *accidens*, nor provided with colour, taste, smell, touch, heat, cold, moistness, dryness, length, breadth, depth, union, distinction, movement, rest or partition. Neither is He provided with parts, divisions, limbs, members, with directions, with right or left hand, before or behind, above or beneath. No place encompasses Him, no time passes by Him. The ideas of intercourse, withdrawal and incarnation cannot be applied to Him. He

clearly obnoxious to those religiously most advanced. For this reason we cannot properly call God Father, Mother or anything indicative of human relationship. He is no relation of ours. He is unique and we must bear this in mind. To establish relationship with God is to tamper with His uniqueness."—Muhammad Amir Alam, *Islam and Christianity* (1923), pp. 153-54. See, however, Macdonald, *Rel. Att. and Life in Islam*, p. 39. The Muhammadan religion does not permit the ascription to Allāh of any name which is not *tauqifi*, that is, authorised in some revelation—Quran or tradition. "Father" is not one of the names used by Muhammad and is not included in the list of the ninety-nine names of Allāh. (See ERE. vi. 299; Hughes, *Dic. Isl.*, pp. 141-42; Lammens, *op. cit.*, p. 113; Macdonald, *Rel. Att. and Life in Islam*, p. 211).

<sup>112</sup> Suras cxii. 4; xlii. 9; xxii. 73; xvi. 76. (Cf. Ex. xx. 4.)

<sup>113</sup> *Enc. Isl.*, p. 305.

<sup>114</sup> Quoted by Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 73. For the Mu'tazilite articles of belief, *ibid.*, p. 58 f. The whole of Ch. IV is worth reading.

cannot be described by any description which can be applied to creatures, in so far as they are created, neither can it be said that He is finite. He cannot be described by measure, nor by movement in a direction. He is not definite; neither begetting nor begotten; measures do not encompass Him, nor do curtains veil Him. The senses do not reach Him, nor can man describe Him by any analogy. He does not resemble the creatures in any way. Neither accident nor detriment can touch Him. Nothing of what occurs to any mind or can be conceived by phantasy resembles Him. He has not ceased to be the first, the foremost, He who preceded created things and existed before the creation. He has not ceased to be knowing, deciding, living, nor does He cease to be so. Eyes do not see Him, sight does not reach Him, phantasy cannot conceive Him nor can He be heard by ears. He is a being, but is not as other beings; knowing, deciding, living, unlike those who measure living beings by their knowledge. He alone is eternal; there is none eternal besides Him, nor a God like unto Him. He has no partner in His Kingdom, nor a vizier in His government, nor any who assists Him in producing what He produces and in creating what He creates. He has not created the creation after a foregoing pattern. The creation of one thing is neither more easy nor more difficult to Him than the creation of any other thing. There is no kind of relation between Him and what gives profit; no harm can touch Him; neither joy nor pleasure can reach Him, nor is He moved by hurt or pain. There is no limit set to Him, to make Him finite. The idea of ceasing to be cannot be applied to Him, nor is He subject to weakness or diminishing. He is exalted above touching women and above taking a companion and begetting children." True, this description does not exclude positive qualities altogether; but when it is remembered that the Mu'tazilites were uncompromising opponents of the ascription of eternal qualities to God and that even when they admitted their existence they considered them to be indistinguishable from His essence, it can be seen at once that the rationalists of Islām did not think that there was any necessity for ascribing to Allāh anything more



than reality or essential existence or of regarding the attributes as anything but allegorical.

It would have been strange, however, if orthodoxy had accepted the validity of the Mu'tazilite conception. The central theme of the Qur'ān is Allāh and His working in nature and human history.<sup>115</sup> The Quranic revelation would have had no meaning, had not God intended to reveal His nature and will to man: a revealed religion is necessary because the imperfect reason of man is incapable of arriving at a true conception of God without His own aid. It is not denied that man cannot know God unto perfection: but it is denied that God's unity and independence exclude the possession of real attributes or that it is permissible to reject them altogether because of their ambiguities and apparent contradictions. Did not the Qur'ān say,<sup>116</sup> "He it is who sent down to thee 'the Book.' Some of its signs are of themselves perspicuous;—these are the basis of the Book—and others are figurative. But they whose hearts are given to err, follow its figures, craving discord, and craving an interpretation; yet none knoweth its interpretation but God. But the stable in knowledge say, 'We believe in it: it is all from our Lord.'" Yet none receive the admonition (*i.e.*, bear this in mind), save men endued with understanding"? So the orthodox ultimately settled down to the view that the meaning of the ambiguous verses describing God and His attributes was known to God alone and that the duty of the faithful was to believe in them without discussion—"without enquiring how and without making comparison."<sup>117</sup> A typical instance would suffice. God is described in the Qur'ān as "the most merciful of those that show mercy" and yet He tortures children in a number of ways even though they have no fault of their own and they cannot be punished for

<sup>115</sup> Khwaja Kamaluddin, *Islam and Christianity*, Ch. VI; *Threshold of Truth*, Ch. III.

<sup>116</sup> Sura iii. 5. See ERE. vi. 300 f. See Mūhammad Ali, *The Holy Quran*, pp. 141-42, f.n. 337-39.

<sup>117</sup> See ERE. ii. 300-01, art. GOD (Muslim); also Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

the fault of their ancestors.<sup>118</sup> Ibn Hazm's solution of this difficulty is thus summarised by Macdonald :<sup>119</sup> " Mercy, in our human sense, which is high praise applied to a man, cannot be predicated of God. What then does the Qur'ān mean by those words? Simply that they—*arhamu-r-rahimin*—are one of God's names, applied to Him by Himself and that we have no right to take them as descriptive of a quality, mercy, and to use them to throw light on God's nature." So the attributes are neither to be rejected nor to be literally taken : in this, as in many other matters, the general Quranic prescription to adopt the middle path should be followed, namely, the mean between divesting God of all attributes and ascribing to Him qualities borrowed from this world.<sup>120</sup>

But the trouble does not end here. The Qur'ān makes reference to the various attributes and activities of Allāh in no uncertain terms ; if there are ambiguous passages in which the faithful are expected to believe without question, there are also perspicuous passages of which the import can never be mistaken by the understanding. Then, again, appeal is made in the Qur'ān to certain obvious signs in nature from which the discerning mind can arrive at a conclusion regarding the existence of God. " The creation of the sun, the moon and the stars, the order and design witnessed in those orbs which constitute the host of heaven, the consummate laws of order that regulate the universe, the formation of man's body and mind, the marvellous power and wisdom discernible in the government of this universe,"<sup>121</sup> the due order in which the

<sup>118</sup> Islam does not admit either metempsychosis or original sin. In its solicitude to safeguard the direct dealing of Allāh with each individual it went to the extreme of suggesting that diseases never spread by contagion but only by God communicating them directly to each individual. See A. Guillaume. *The Traditions of Islam*, p. 123; also p. 178.

<sup>119</sup> Macdonald. *Development of Muslim Theology*, p. 210.

<sup>120</sup> See Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *The Teachings of Islam*, pp. 94-95.

<sup>121</sup> Muslim theologians are generally of opinion that while it is permissible to use the reason to arrive at a theistic conclusion, the certainty about God's existence comes not from human reason but from Divine revelation. See, e.g., Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. *The Teachings of Islam*, pp. 75-77 : " In short, unless

seasons come in their rotation and dead nature springs to life with the returning rains, the supremacy of man over land and sea and, lastly, the conscience and the faith that man finds engraved on his own heart <sup>122</sup>—all bespeak the existence of a unitary God and the operation of a merciful Providence. "Assuredly in the heavens and the earth are signs for those who believe firmly; and in your own creation, and in the beasts which He hath dispersed abroad are signs to the firm in faith: and in the succession of night and day, and in the supply which God sendeth down from the Heaven whereby after its death He giveth life to the earth, and in the change of the winds are signs for people of discernment. Such are the signs of God."<sup>123</sup> None but Almighty God could have ordained all these and yet people in their ignorance join other gods with God and even bow down before idols which are themselves the creations of man.

Muslim theologians have collected with commendable diligence the different attributes, functions and names of God mentioned or implied in the Qur'ān, and many have been the disputes over their exact significance among the different schools of thought. The final orthodox opinion may be summed up in the propositions that Allāh is the personal name of the Muslim God who, if He is to be called a thing or substance, is not to be conceived as like other things, and that of this Allāh there are ninety-nine other excellent names (*al-asmā' al-husnā*),<sup>124</sup> all equally eternal and all equally im-

Almighty God reveals Himself by His word spoken to His servants as He reveals Himself by His work as witnessed in nature, a rational persuasion of His existence, which is the outcome of an observation of His works, is never satisfactory" (p. 76).

<sup>122</sup> Suras lviii. 22; xlix. 7, 8.

<sup>123</sup> Sura xlv. 2-5. See also Suras ii. 159; iii. 187; xxx. 18-24; xvi. 2-16; xxi. 31-35; xxxi. 28-30.

<sup>124</sup> On 'ninety-nine,' see the author's article on *The Sense of the Incomplete* in *Calcutta Review*, January, 1928.

It is curious that the Muslim tradition of Allāh's ninety-nine names should lead Jaffur Shurreef, the author of *Qanoon-e-Islam* (tr. G. A. Herklots, 1832), to omit, on p. 358, al-Bārī (The Maker). But the number is really 100, including the name of Allāh which is to be put either at the beginning or at the end. For the list of names, see K. Kamaluddin, *The Threshold of Truth*, pp. 122-23 (also

portant in so far as they all refer to His being.<sup>125</sup> Whether other names deduced from these "excellent titles"<sup>126</sup> or the synonyms of Allāh in other languages (such as the Persian Khudā or the English God) are permissible is doubtful,<sup>127</sup> but, as a matter of fact, such other names have also been applied to Him. These names, however, are not all of equal loftiness<sup>128</sup> and there has been some speculation also about "the exalted name" (*Ism al-A'zam*), the choice being limited to those used in Sūra ii. 158 and Sūra iii. 1 (*i.e.*, the Merciful, the Compassionate, the Self-subsisting and the Living) and to the name 'Allāh.'<sup>129</sup> Religious exercise includes the recitation of all these names with a rosary, but a distinction is drawn, as in Śaivism, between the glorious (or auspicious) and the terrible aspects of Allāh in these ninety-nine names, and, as in Vaiṣṇavism, different names are taken for the fulfilment of different purposes.<sup>130</sup> They do not exhaust the list of Divine qualities but they describe only those aspects in which Allāh has disclosed Himself to the human mind:<sup>131</sup> to think that He possesses no more qualities is, as Rabbi Hanina remarked on the lengthy enumeration of Divine attributes in post-Biblical

*Islam and Zoroastrianism*, pp. 101-03); Hughes, *Dic. Isl.*, pp. 141-42. (There is some difference between the two lists of names and their meanings). Sir Mohammad Iqbal's attempt to understand some of these ancient names (*e.g.*, *Dahr*) in the light of Modern Philosophy, as Dayananda Saraswati's of Vedic words, is misplaced ingenuity (see Iqbal's *Six Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, 1930, p. 101 f). Nobody else, again, would read in Sura xv. 21 an anticipation of the Quantum theory (*ibid*, p. 93 f.). See Kamaluddin, *Threshold of Truth*, p. 27.

<sup>125</sup> Wensinck, *op. cit.*, pp. 188, 206.

<sup>126</sup> Suras vii. 179; xvii. 111; lix. 24 (more than a dozen names are packed together in Sura lix. 22-24).

<sup>127</sup> ERE. ii. 299. Some names do not occur in the Qur'ān but the sense is found there (See Hughes, *Dic. Isl.*, p. 427; *Enc. Isl.*, I, art. ALLĀH, p. 302 f.) See however, art. 24 of Fikh Akbar II in Wensinck, *op. cit.*, pp. 196 and 236.

<sup>128</sup> Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

<sup>129</sup> Hughes, *Dic. Isl.*, p. 142; ERE. ii. 299.

<sup>130</sup> Some count the names with the finger. The Hindu practice also follows both methods. The rosary was borrowed from the Buddhists through the Sufis and passed on to the Christians during the Crusades.

See ERE. vi. 299. Similar is the case with the names of Viṣṇu.

<sup>131</sup> K. Kamaluddin, *Islam and Zoroastrianism*, p. 93; *Threshold of Truth*, p. 121.

literature, like calling a millionaire the possessor of a hundred thousand.<sup>132</sup> An analysis of these different names shows unmistakably Muhammad's lofty conception of Allāh. Christianity inherited the Jewish idea of God and had only to deepen its significance here and there; but Muhammad had to attempt a comprehensive description to replace the many gods of the Arab religion, and so he had to concentrate in One God the different divine functions distributed among these gods of polytheism.<sup>133</sup>

In his emphasis upon the unity of God Muhammad went back to Judaism with its famous monotheistic creed, 'Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God is one Lord.' The short chapter on The Unity (Sūra cxii) was directed against all types of polytheism (*shirk*), viz. "a belief in the plurality of gods, a belief that other things may possess the perfect attributes of the Divine Being, a belief that anything may be related to him, and a belief that others may do what is ascribable only to the Divine Being."<sup>134</sup> The lonely majesty of God was so far emphasised that the world was regarded, though not as a sport, yet as a mere episode in His eternal life—created by Him, maintained and guided by Him, and destroyed by Him.<sup>135</sup> Many of the "excellent names" bring out this aspect of Allāh: He is the Creator of souls (Al-Khāliq), the Maker of bodies (Al-Bāri'), the Fashioner of the image in the womb (Al-Muṣawwir), the Guardian (Al-Wakīl), the Preserver (Al-Hāfiẓ), the ever Maintainer (Al-Muqīt), the Great Beginner (Al-Mubdi'), the Restorer (Al-Mu'id), the Life-giver or Quickener (Al-Muhyī), the Killer (Al-Mumīt), the Ender of everything (Al-Mu'akhkhir), the Gatherer (Al-Jāmi'), the Nourisher (Ar-Rabb), the Director (Ar-Rashīd), the Bestower (Al-Wahhāb), the Provider (Ar-Razzāq) and

<sup>132</sup> ERE. vi. 297, art. GOD (Jewish).

<sup>133</sup> On pagan gods in pre-Islamic Arabia, see ERE. i. 660-5, art. ARABS (Ancient) by Th. Nöldeke. See also Sale's Preliminary Discourse in his *Comprehensive Commentary on the Qur'ān* (ed. E. M. Wherry), Vol. I, pp. 34-44.

<sup>134</sup> The Holy Qur'ān (tr. by Muhammad Ali), p. 1295, f.n. 2817. For the Wahhābi classification of *Shirk*, see Hughes, *Dic. Isl.*, p. 579; see also Muhammad Ali, *The Religion of Islām*, p. 145 f.

<sup>135</sup> See *Enc. Isl.*, II, art. KHALK, p. 892.

the Destroyer (Al-Muzīl). Allāh is dependent for His existence on nothing and is for ever and for ever—He is He (Hoo), the Living (A-Ḥaiy), the Self-subsisting (Al-Qaiyūm), the One (Al-Wāḥid), the Eternal (Aṣ-Ṣamad, Al-Azalī), the Forerunner (Al-Muqaddim), the First (Al-Awwal), the Last (Al-Ākhir), the Alone in His attributes (Al-Aḥad), the Independent or Self-sufficient (Al-Ghanī), the Survivor or Enduring (Al-Bāqī), the Inheritor (Al-Wārith). He is the Incomparable (Al-Badī') and nothing can equal or approach Him in greatness and glory—He is the Mighty (Al-'Azīz), the All-compelling (Al-Jabbār), the Great (Al-Mutakabbir), the Dominant (Al-Qahhār), the Grand (Al-'Azim), the Exalted (Al-'Alī, Al-Aāla), the Ever Great (Al-Kabīr), the Majestic (Al-Jalīl), the Glorious (Al-Majīd), the Strong (Al-Qawī), the Firm (Al-Matīn), the Powerful (Al-Qādir), the Prevailing (Al-Muqtadir), the One above all others (Al-Muta'alī). Now as the supreme example of earthly majesty is the King, so Allāh naturally gets epithets of dominion also—He is the Master (Al-Mālik), the King (Al-Malik), the Protector (Al-Muhaimin), the Governor (Al-Walī), the King of All Kingdoms (Māliku'l-mulk), the Lord of Majesty and Liberality (Dhu'l-jalāli wa'l-ikrām). The name of the essence of God is Allāh—a word which has been understood by Muslim theologians in the sense of a "Being who exists necessarily by Himself, comprising all the attributes of perfection."

The uncompromising monotheism of Islām is such a well-known fact that it is not necessary to dwell upon it longer. Suffice it to say that in the eyes of Islām polytheism is an unpardonable sin and no personal merit or prophetic intercession would succeed in outweighing this single guilt of denying or qualifying the unity (*tawḥīd*) of God. Conversely, an infidel could save his life from the Muslim sword by declaring his belief in the unity of God even though it was prompted by fear, and not by conviction, and even though the Apostleship of Muhammad was omitted from the *shahāda*.<sup>136</sup>

In fact, the profession of Divine Unity sometimes went to such length that it alone was considered sufficient for entry into Paradise even though theft and fornication had been committed.<sup>137</sup> Against this Murji'ite belief in the sufficiency of faith in Allāh without work,<sup>138</sup> the Khārijite view that a person committing gross immoral acts like fornication and theft ceases to be a Muslim and becomes a *munāfiq*, a possessor of sham faith, was extremely necessary. But orthodoxy has inclined more towards Murji'itism than towards the Khārijite view inasmuch as it has upheld the position "that whoever commits fornication or theft or other grave sins, except *shirk*, may not be declared an infidel for this reason; he is faithful, but his faith is incomplete. If he repents, his punishment is cancelled and when he persists in his sins, he is left to the mercy of God; if He pleaseth, He will punish him and cause him to enter Paradise afterwards."<sup>139</sup> But lest people should grow neglectful, works were enjoined; still faith continued to be regarded as alone sufficient for salvation.<sup>140</sup> As Wensinck points out,<sup>141</sup> "The identification of faith and knowledge was a doctrine of the Murdjites, which was received into some forms of the orthodox creed. A consequence of this doctrine was that little importance was attached to works or to the ethical and emotional sides of religion."

With Muslim theologians the unity of Allāh was such a fundamental article of belief that there was some danger of denying not only external distinctions but also internal distinctions in relation to Allāh, as was done by Śaṅkara in relation to Brahman. There was not only no other god either in a polytheistic or in a trinitarian sense; but doubts were

<sup>137</sup> Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 46; also *Enc. Isl.*, II, p. 269, art. KHAṬṬA.

<sup>138</sup> Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology*, p. 126 f.; Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 45; *ERE*. v. 695, art. FAITH (Muslim): "An illustration used is that a tree may have neither leaves nor fruit and still it is a tree."

<sup>139</sup> Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 47. *Enc. Isl.*, II, p. 927; also p. 474 (art. IMAN; *ERE*. v. 695, art. FAITH (Muslim)).

<sup>140</sup> Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

<sup>141</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 120. See *ERE*. v. 695, art. FAITH (Muslim).





regarded eternity (including, of course, unity) as the only eternal quality of Allāh and relegated the other attributes to the class of created, and therefore non-eternal, things (in which class was necessarily included the Qur'ān, the speech of Allāh).

A sounder theological instinct, however, led the orthodox to keep closer to the language of the Qur'ān and to defend against the Mu'tazilites the position that a multiplicity of eternal qualities or names does not impugn the unitary character of God. They also maintained against the Sifātites or Attributists that attributes were separate or different from essence logically, though neither in reality nor in time, even in God. Hence it is possible to affirm that Allāh possesses eternal qualities and also names indicating those qualities and the functions arising out of the single or joint operation of those qualities,—only that we must remember that “no one participates with God in His person and attributes” —“nought is there like Him,”<sup>147</sup> and that therefore the qualities are not to be understood as being like unto the qualities of earthly things. Thus God is living, but He does not possess a body as we do; unlike ourselves (including the apostles), He does not begin or cease to be, and He neither begets nor is begotten; slumber does not overtake Him nor sleep, nor is He ever fatigued by His creative and preservative acts.<sup>148</sup> It is from Him,—the eternal, the ever-living and the subsistent, that all life, nourishment, death and immortality proceed; it is unpardonable blasphemy to join with

ever could be predicated of God; others rejected only some of these qualities.—*The Legacy of Islam*, p. 263 (see also Wensinck, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-77).

<sup>147</sup> Sura xlii. 9. The problem of the relation between these qualities and the essence “was eventually given up by orthodox Islam which took refuge in the statement ‘they are not He (i.e., Allāh Himself), nor are they other than He’; this was an admission that the relationship was a theological mystery, ungraspable by human thought.”—See *Enc. Isl.*, II, p. 671.

<sup>148</sup> Sura ii. 256. ‘This is directed against the Jewish belief that on the Sabbath day God “rested from all his work which he had made” (Gen. ii. 2-3; Ex. xx. 11); but the Deuteronomy had already prescribed the keeping of the Sabbath as a remembrance for the safe exodus from Egypt (Dt. v. 15). The Sabbath may have been derived in the first instance from some form of moon-worship (ERE. v. 863).

such a living God the manufactured idols of paganism or the blind forces of nature or the heavenly bodies or even saints, prophets or messiahs.

But God is not a mere *Élan Vital* or blind power without knowledge and purpose. If God possesses life and power, He also possesses knowledge and will. God's knowledge is eternal and belongs to His essence : it is not adventitious and acquired. The past, the present and the future are all equally present to His knowledge : " He knoweth what is present with His creatures and what is yet to befall them; yet nought of His knowledge do they comprehend, save what He willeth."<sup>149</sup> Nothing hidden or manifest in heaven or earth falls outside His knowledge; and the inmost thoughts and the most secret deeds of all creatures as well as their words are all known to Him : " And with Him are the keys of the secret things; none knoweth them but He : and He knoweth whatever is on the land and in the sea; and no leaf falleth but He knoweth it; neither is there a grain in the darkness of the earth, nor a thing green or sere, but it is noted in the perspicuous book. And it is He who taketh you to Himself at night, and knoweth what ye have merited in the day : then He awaketh you therein, that the set life-term may be fulfilled : then unto Him is your return; and then shall He declare to you that which ye have wrought."<sup>150</sup> " Three persons speak not privately together, but He is their fourth; nor five, but He is their sixth; nor fewer nor more, but wherever they be He is with them."<sup>151</sup> " He verily knoweth the secret whisper, and the yet more hidden "<sup>152</sup> " verily God knoweth whatever thing they invoke in His stead."<sup>153</sup> He never suffers from forgetfulness, negligence and error. " He is the Subtile, the All-informed."<sup>154</sup>

<sup>149</sup> Sura ii. 256.

<sup>150</sup> Sura vi. 59-60; see also lxxvii. 13.

<sup>151</sup> Sura lxxiii. 8 (*cf.* Atharva-Veda, IV. 16.2).

<sup>152</sup> Sura xx. 6.

<sup>153</sup> Sura xxix. 41.

<sup>154</sup> Sura vi. 103.

But Allāh's knowledge is not a mere awareness of physical, mental and moral events; it includes His wisdom in dealing with the needs of His creation. "He causeth the dawn to break, and hath ordained the night for rest, and the sun and the moon for computing time! This is the ordinance of the Mighty, the Wise! And it is He who hath ordained the stars for you, that ye may be guided thereby in the darkness of the land and of the sea."<sup>155</sup> When man offers up prayer to God for help, He knows whether or not to listen to it: out of His wisdom He chooses the best for the suppliant. A number of epithets indicating the knowledge and wisdom of God are included within the excellent titles of Allāh. He is the Knower (Al-'Alīm), the Knower of Subtleties (Al-Taṭīf), the Aware (Al-Khabīr), the Reckoner (Al-Ḥasīb), the Recorder (Al-Muḥṣī), the All-Comprehending (Al-Wāsi'), the Wise (Al-Hakīm), the Finder (Al-Wājid), the Guide (Al-Hādī). Closely associated with the above is Allāh's pervasiveness, although orthodoxy fought shy of delineating the exact relation of Allāh to space. He is the Evident, the Without (Az-Zāhir), the Hidden, the Within (Al-Bāṭin).

Inasmuch as God's knowledge is direct and nothing is hidden from His view, seeing is one of His attributes. He is the seer (Al-Baṣīr), the Watcher (Ar-Raqīb), the Witness (Ash-Shahīd). It is difficult to make out the exact necessity of seeing (or hearing) as a Divine attribute separate from knowledge; but it is likely that the former was reserved for an awareness of men's moral actions, especially of those actions which are hidden away from the eyes of other creatures. "No vision taketh Him in, but He taketh in all vision."<sup>156</sup> He is ever-watchful and He can see the motives from which actions proceed; but He does not require eyes like our own to perform the act of vision nor is His vision a temporal act.

What is true of Seeing is true of Hearing also. Allāh truly is the Hearing (As-Sāmī)<sup>157</sup> and He hears the smallest

<sup>155</sup> Sura vi. 96-97.

<sup>156</sup> Sura vi. 103; also lxxxix. 13.

<sup>157</sup> Sura xliv. 5.

sounds. The Faithful are enjoined not to shout during their devotional exercises, for Allāh is not deaf and He does not hear with ears like ourselves. He is the Ever-Hearer of Prayers (Al-Mujīb).

The Divine attribute over which much bitter controversy was waged is Speech. In two matters the assumption of this attribute became inevitable. Allāh had spoken to Moses, who therefore came to be called *Kalīmu'llāh*, Converser with God, in Muslim Tradition.<sup>158</sup> Although Muslim Tradition later on elaborated Muhammad's vision of the Night Journey into the story of his conversation with Allāh, it never advocated the theory that any of the Quranic revelations came from that interview. As the Divine Speech would have been in that case a temporal event, probably it was felt that that would go against the eternity of the Qur'ān. Hence the eternal speech of Allāh was limited to the Quranic revelation, which consisted not of the meaning of the words of Allāh, which could be found in earlier revelations also, but of the actual words of God, the Muslim commentators would say;<sup>159</sup> the speech was conveyed through angelic medium to the heart of Muhammad. From the very nature of the case a good deal of speculation was inevitable on the subject of Divine speech,<sup>160</sup> especially when matters were complicated, first, by the Quranic assumption of a preserved table (in imitation of the Mosaic tablets); secondly, by the belief in an eternal Arabic Qur'ān;<sup>161</sup> and lastly, by the doctrine of abrogation

<sup>158</sup> See art. PROPHET in Hughes, *Dic. Isl.*, p. 475.

<sup>159</sup> See Hughes, *Dic. Isl.*, art. QUR'ĀN, p. 484 f. "Of all the divine books, the Qur'ān is the only one of which the text, words and phrases have been communicated to the Prophet by an audible voice."—Ibn Khaldun, quoted in ERE. vii. 355, art. INSPIRATION (Muslim). See *Al-Bayan* (Eng. Tr.) by Abū Muhammad Abdul Haqq Haqqani, p. 216 f.; Sir William Muir, *The Life of Mohammad* (1923), p. xiv, f.n. 1; see p. 47: "So scrupulous was he (Mohammad), lest in his words there should be even the appearance of human influence, that every sentence of the Kor'ān is prefaced by the divine command 'SPEAK' or 'SAY' which, if not expressed, is always to be understood."

<sup>160</sup> The reader is referred to *Enc. Isl.*, II, art. KALĀM (p. 670 f.) for some of the speculations on the exact nature of Divine speech and its communication to Moses and other Prophets.

<sup>161</sup> Sura xii. 2. For the claim of Arabic to be the proper vehicle of Final Revelation, see K. Kamaluddin, *The Threshold of Truth*, Ch. VI, pp. 106-12.

(which would mean something like eternal scoring through some passages in the preserved table of heaven).<sup>162</sup> But inasmuch as God speaks with a tongue not like man's, the Qur'ān is not the eternal speech of God in respect of "the glorious expressions revealed to the Prophet, because these are originated," but only in so far as it "subsists in the essence of God."<sup>163</sup> Still, the Qur'ān is a plenary inspiration,<sup>164</sup> because Muhammad did not use here his own mental powers under divine guidance (*ilhām*) as other prophets did<sup>165</sup> but uttered the very words which God wished him to give forth as the divine message. It is an "external inspiration" (*wahyi zāhir*), in which the passive mind of Muhammad was completely possessed by an alien power and which is superior even to the "sign of the angel" (*ishārat al-malak*) or inspiration received through Gabriel but not orally.<sup>166</sup> The Divine

<sup>162</sup> For the list of abrogated verses, see Hughes, *Dic. Isl.*, p. 520. Commenting on some cases of abrogation, Margoliouth remarks, "If we admit the theory that God's commands are dictates of prudence, i.e., are temporary rules accommodated to the varying circumstances of a few days or years, the question suggests itself: did circumstances cease to change on the Prophet's death? Changing so quickly within the twenty years of his activity that the rule which suited the first year was wholly inapplicable in the last, can they in the last year have become so stereotyped that no further alteration is required?" (*Early Development of Muhammadanism*, p. 50). See *Enc. Isl.*, II, p. 1065; also Muhammad Ali, *The Religion of Islām*, pp. 35-44.

<sup>163</sup> ERE. vii. 356. "Even the oldest short *Sūras* which might have been heard by him in their present form very probably received their present form with rhymes, etc., in a later recasting."—*Enc. Isl.*, II, p. 1065.

<sup>164</sup> For the various (55) names of the Qur'ān, see Hughes, *Dic. Isl.*, p. 485; also M. Ali's *Holy Quran*, Preface, p. xxviii.

<sup>165</sup> Gabriel sometimes, without appearing in person, so influenced the mind of the Prophet that what he spoke was a divine message. This is *ilhām*, the inspiration of the traditions.—ERE. vii. 355.

<sup>166</sup> ERE. vii. 354, art. INSPIRATION (Muslim). See also Hughes, *Dic. Isl.*, art. INSPIRATION, pp. 213 and 485 (modes of Muhammad's inspiration). There is only one distinct reference to Gabriel as the medium of inspiration in the Qur'ān, viz., ii. 91. The other references are to Faithful Spirit (xxvi. 193), One terrible in power (liii. 5), the Holy Spirit (xvi. 104), and illustrious messenger (lxxxi. 19). Gabriel is simply mentioned also in lxvi. 4; also as the Holy Spirit who strengthened Jesus (ii. 81, 254; v. 109). Cf. Dan. viii. 16; Lk. i. 19, 26. See *Encl. Isl.*, II. art. KORAN. p. 1064. See also M. Ali's *Holy Quran*, p. 1166, note 2683; also Archer, *op. cit.*, p. 79 f. (esp. p. 83 for Quranic references). For the Muslim conception of Gabriel, see *Enc. Isl.*, I, art. DJABRĀ'IL, pp. 990-91. See also Sir W. Muir, *Life of Mohammad*, pp. 72, 156; Muhammad Ali, *The Religion of Islām*, p. 206, f.n. 1 and also p. 25.

speech took the form of "command, prohibition, promises and threats." "When the revelation was one of denunciation or a prediction of woe, the angelic nature of Gabriel overcame the nature of Muhammad, who was then transported to the angelic world; when the message was one of comfort and consolation, the angel, in the form of a man, delivered his message:"<sup>167</sup> thus believed the Traditionalists. But in the list of excellent names nothing directly corresponding to the aspect of Speech appears as an epithet of Allāh, although there is an oft-quoted and much discussed passage in the Qur'ān. "Our word to a thing when we will it, is but to say, 'Be,' and it is."<sup>168</sup>

The two other attributes, Power and Will, are closely related in their operation,—power denoting the potentialities of action, and will the mental movement towards actual acts. God's power is not limited by His will, for He might have willed things in quite a different way from what He has actually done and no injustice would have attached to Him had He done so. "Verily God hath power over all things." He gave Muhammad victory at Badr but not at Uhud.<sup>169</sup> God is powerful enough to "raise the dead, make stones talk, trees walk, annihilate the heavens and the earth, and recreate them."<sup>170</sup> He has created the earth and the seven heavens, one above another; He has created the night and the day, the sun, the moon and the stars, and made them subject utterly to His command; He has created life and death; He sends the thunderbolts and strikes with them whom He pleases:

"It should be noted that five kinds of the *wahy* (literally *revelation* or *inspiration*) of Allāh are mentioned in the Holy Qur'ān; viz., first, in its relation to inanimate objects, as *earth* in 99: 5; secondly, in relation to living creatures other than man, as the *bee* (in 16: 70). thirdly, in relation to men and women other than prophets, as the apostles of Jesus in 5: 111 and the mother of Moses in 28: 7 (Rodwell's 28: 6); fourthly, in relation to prophets and apostles; and fifthly, in relation to angels."—Muhammad Ali, *The Holy Qur'ān*, p. 547, note 1379. See also his *Religion of Islām*, p. 202 f.

<sup>167</sup> ERE. vii. 355, art. INSPIRATION (Muslim).

<sup>168</sup> Sura xvi. 42. See Sura vii. 141 (*Enc. Isl.*, II, p. 671).

<sup>169</sup> Sura iii. 158-59; also xli. 14.

<sup>170</sup> ERE. vi. 300, art. GOD (Muslim).

Palgrave's description of the omnipotence of Allāh<sup>171</sup> will show what the Arabs intended by the credal formula, 'There is no god but God.' Says he, "The words in Arabic and among Arabs imply that this one Supreme Being is also the only one Agent, the only force, the only act existing throughout the universe, and leave to all beings also, matter or spirit, instinct or intelligence, physical or moral, nothing but pure unconditional passiveness, alike in movement or in quiescence, in action or in capacity. The sole power, the sole motor, movement, energy and deed, is God; the rest is downright inertia and mere instrumentality, from the highest archangel down to the simplest atom of creation..... Thus immeasurably and eternally exalted above, and dissimilar from, all creatures, which lie levelled before Him on one common plane of instrumentality and inertness, God is One in the totality of omnipotent and omnipresent action, which acknowledges no rule, standard, or limit, save His own sole and absolute will. He communicates nothing to His creatures, for their seeming power and act ever remain His alone, and in return He receives nothing from them; for whatever they may be, that they are in Him, by Him, and from Him only. And, secondly, no superiority, no distinction, no pre-eminence, can be lawfully claimed by one creature over its fellow, in the utter equalisation of their unexceptional servitude and abasement; all are alike tools of the one solitary Force which employs them to crush or to benefit, to truth or to error, to honour or shame, to happiness or misery, quite independently of their individual fitness, deserts or advantage, and simply because 'He wills it,' and 'as He wills it'."

Although the language of the above description is a bit strong, there can be no doubt that the logic of the Qur'ān would demand an approximation to this ideal. We have already referred to the titles of might, greatness and dominion; some more may be pointed out in this reference. Thus Allāh is the Restrainer (Al-Qābiḍ), the Abaser (Al-Khāfiḍ), the

<sup>171</sup> Quoted in Hughes, *Dic. Isl.*, p. 147.

Exalter (Ar-Rāfi'), the Honourer (Al-Mu'izz), the Debaser (Al-Mudhil), the Enricher (Al-Mughni), the Giver (Al-Mu'fi), the Withholder (Al-Māni'), the Distresser (Ad-Dārr), the Profiter (An-Nāfi'). " Say, O God, to whom belongeth dominion, Thou givest dominion to whom Thou wilt, and from whom Thou wilt Thou takest it away; Thou exaltest whom Thou wilt, and whom Thou wilt Thou humblest. In Thy hand is good. Verily Thou art all-powerful. Thou causest the night to pass into the day, and Thou causest the day to pass into the night; and Thou bringest forth the living from the dead and Thou bringest forth the dead from the living; and Thou givest sustenance to whom Thou wilt without measure."<sup>172</sup> So, as Wensinck remarks,<sup>173</sup> " the prevailing feature of Allāh in the Kur'ān is His absoluteness, His doing what He pleases without being bound by human rules. He extends His bounty, His mercy and His wisdom to whomsoever He pleaseth; He guideth in the right way and He leaveth to go astray whom He pleaseth; if He had so pleased, He would have guided all men in the right way; He createth what He pleaseth and formeth man in the womb as He pleaseth; He forgiveth unto whom He pleaseth; in short, He doeth what He pleaseth."

To such a God the only possible human attitude is abject submission. Muhammad was, therefore, logical when he called his religion Islām,<sup>174</sup> i.e., resignation to the will of God, and regarded the relation of the living creation to Allāh as one of servitude. Allāh, to a Muhammadan, means " The Obeyed,"<sup>175</sup> and the Apostles, including Jesus and Muhammad, are the servants of Allāh.<sup>176</sup> The democratic ideal of

<sup>172</sup> Sura iii, 25. For Al-Fudali's interpretation of the seven connections with the quality of Power, see Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology*, p. 329. For the relation of Will to Power, see *ibid.* p. 330 f. For al-Ash'ari's interpretation, see *ibid.* p. 295; for al-Ghazālī's, p. 302.

<sup>173</sup> Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

<sup>174</sup> Sura iii, 79.

<sup>175</sup> K. Kamaluddin, *Threshold of Truth*, p. 63.

<sup>176</sup> The Koran starts with the notion of Allāh, the One, Eternal, and Almighty God, far above human feelings and aspirations—the Lord of His slaves



Islām proceeds from the fact that all are equally insignificant before God. McDougall has ascribed the rapid spread of Islām in Oriental countries to the fact that people there are used to the despotism of their temporal rulers and the Islamic attitude towards God is one of similar submission, servitude and resignation.<sup>177</sup> Similarly, Sell remarks, "God is described as Merciful and Gracious, the Guardian over all, the Provider of daily bread, the Reviver of His people and their Deliverer, and many similar terms; but all that the Qur'ān says of the loving-kindness of God is overshadowed by the teaching of Muhammad in the Qur'ān and the tradition as to His power. This is the prominent element in the conception of God as taught by the Prophet; it has ruled the Muslim world, and still rules it. The most excellent names, ninety and nine in number, do not contain any term which denotes the relation of God as a Father to His people. The idea is repugnant to the Muslim mind, and so in Islām the relation of man to God must ever be that of a slave, who lacks the freedom and dignity of a son."<sup>178</sup>

The last attribute belonging to Divine essence, namely, Will, raised still more formidable difficulties. The omnipotence of God is not peculiar to Muhammadanism; but most other religions use the term with a certain reservation in so far as it relates to the actions and destinies of finite spirits.<sup>179</sup> Creation of second creators was repugnant to Islām: did not Allāh declare that He had created all things after a fixed

not the Father of His children; a judge meting out stern justice to sinners, and extending His mercy only to those who avert His wrath by repentance, humility, and unceasing works of devotion; a God of fear rather than of love.—Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, p. 21.

<sup>177</sup> McDougall, *The Group Mind*, pp. 113-14.

<sup>178</sup> ERE. vi. 302.

<sup>179</sup> For very similar beliefs in Jewish literature, see ERE. v. 793, art. FATE (Jewish). Possibly the Qur'ān is indebted to it for some of its articles of belief on Predestination. Wensinck observes: "The orthodox doctrine of heavenly decrees is not specifically Islamic. It has a broad Semitic basis, as is proved by Babylonian and Israelitic religious tradition, which regards not only the ways of man, but the course of the world as the *replica* of what had been recorded long before in heavenly books or on heavenly tablets" (*op. cit.*, p. 54). For the whole subject, see Muhammad Ali, *The Religion of Islām*, Ch. VII. Gadar or Taqdir.

decree? <sup>180</sup> Allāh has eternally fixed the destinies of all things<sup>181</sup> and of all nations, <sup>182</sup> and nothing can befall any being but what God has destined for it.<sup>183</sup> Not only have the birth<sup>184</sup> and the span of life been fixed for all creatures<sup>185</sup> but even their alliances,<sup>186</sup> their vocations<sup>187</sup> and their fortunes: "No mischance chanceth either on earth or in your own persons, which, ere We brought it into being, was not in the Book;—Verily, easy is this to God—Lest ye distress yourselves if good things escape you, and be over-joyous for what falleth to your share."<sup>188</sup> God vouchsafes the gifts of grace to whom He wills,<sup>189</sup> for all sovereignty is in His hands;<sup>190</sup> He visits the wrong-doers with punishment in due time even though they may prosper for a while.<sup>191</sup>

Now, the bearing of this doctrine on the destiny of man was not left to inference, for the Qur'ān itself drew out the implications of this doctrine in relation to all the activities of the human mind—its knowledge, faith and works. Allāh knows and wills from all eternity what every man will know, believe, like and achieve. Wensinck quotes three traditions<sup>192</sup> to show that there was some difference of opinion about the time when the Divine decree was recorded in the case of an individual—one fixing it at the forty-second day of conception, another at fifty thousand years before the creation of the heavens and the earth, and the third accepting the second as the time at which it was written on the preserved

<sup>180</sup> Sura liv. 49.

<sup>181</sup> Sura lxxxvii. 2.

<sup>182</sup> Sura vii. 92.

<sup>183</sup> Sura ix. 51.

<sup>184</sup> Sura liii. 33.

<sup>185</sup> Suras iii. 139, 148, 162; viii. 17.

<sup>186</sup> Sura xxxiii. 37 (which practically declares that Muhammad's teaching with the divorced wife of his adopted son Zaid was made in heaven by a God decree).

<sup>187</sup> Sura xxxiii. 38-9.

<sup>188</sup> Sura lvii. 22-23.

<sup>189</sup> Sura lvii. 29.

<sup>190</sup> Sura xlii. 30.

<sup>191</sup> Sura xvi. 68.

<sup>192</sup> Wensinck, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55.

table or elsewhere<sup>193</sup> but holding at the same time that the decree was eternal. But in the Traditional literature and the philosophies the Divine decree was conceived in a more extreme fashion than it is set forth in the Qur'ān, with the effect that although the Jabrites, who denied all reality to human activity,<sup>194</sup> and the Qadarites, who rejected the eternal decree of Allāh,<sup>195</sup> were both stigmatised as heretical, the orthodox view leaned towards the Jabrite doctrine<sup>196</sup> and anathematised the Qadarite freewillists as dualists (Mazdians) and forbade the Faithful the visiting of the sick and following the biers of the dead of the latter sect.<sup>197</sup>

In two matters, especially, there could be serious differences of opinion regarding the interpretation of the Qur'ān. The one relates to the faith and works of men and the other to their destiny.<sup>198</sup> As Macdonald remarks: "Antinomies had no terrors for Muhammad. He, evidently, never thought about predestination and free-will, whatever later traditions may have put into his mouth; he expressed each side as he

<sup>193</sup> In the Qur'ān reference is made to three books, kept in heaven, relating to the record of actions and events:—

(1) The 'perspicuous book' in which are recorded all the happenings of the world from all eternity (though the Qur'ān does not expressly mention its eternal character).

(2) The Book of the righteous (Illiyūn) and the Book of the wicked (Sijjīn), in which have been written down, Tradition says, eternally (although there is no indication in the Qur'ān about their eternal aspect) the deeds of men and which would be used on the Day of the Last Judgment.

(3) The book relating to each individual, in which are recorded (probably at the time of each occurrence) the good and bad deeds of each individual and this will be used as evidence of his career on earth on the Judgment day.—*ERE.* v. 794. (See Sura xvii. 14.)

<sup>194</sup> The extreme Jabrite view is found in the Jahmiyah sect. See Hughes, *Dic. Isl.*, art. AL-JABARIYAH, p. 223; also Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 119 f.

<sup>195</sup> See K. C. Seelye, *Moslem Schisms and Sects*, Part I (1920), Ch. III (p. 116 f.); also p. 37 for their 20 (or 22) sub-sects

<sup>196</sup> Mu'tazila writers however also charge the orthodox Ash'ariya with being Djabariya, which as Shahrastānī rightly points out, is not strictly correct as, although they deny the freedom of the will, they allow that man has some influence on action (*kasb*, appropriation).—*Enc. Isl.*, I, p. 985, art. DJABARIYA.

<sup>197</sup> Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 57; Margoliouth, *Ear. Dev. Muh.*, p. 224.

<sup>198</sup> See Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 55 f.



That all such attempts at mediation were destined to be half-hearted is due to the fact that the will of God was not unequivocally conceived in the Qur'ān in relation to the will of man. Thus a number of Quranic passages and traditional sayings can be quoted to show that Allāh's decree extended over all human motives and actions. God has created us and all that we make.<sup>205</sup> He has graven the faith on the hearts of the believers<sup>206</sup> and sealed the hearts of the unbelievers and the transgressors that they may not hearken or believe or understand.<sup>207</sup> God misleads whom He wills, and whom He wills He guides or puts on the right path.<sup>208</sup> If God had so pleased, He would have guided all aright<sup>209</sup> and made them all of one religion; <sup>210</sup> but He has guided only some of them and the others He has abandoned to themselves<sup>211</sup> or decreed to err.<sup>212</sup> "He whom God guideth is the guided and they whom He misleadeth the lost."<sup>213</sup> Man does not spontaneously take to the path of virtue or vice: "Whoso willeth, taketh the way to his Lord; but will it ye shall not, unless God will it."<sup>214</sup> Orthodox Islām did not deny that man possessed a sense of freedom; but, in order to explain it, it went to the length of suggesting that not only human acts but also the sense of freedom accompanying them had been willed and decreed by Allāh.<sup>215</sup> "Man accepts for himself the action of Allāh and his accepting is man's consciousness of free will." "The action of a creature is created,

<sup>205</sup> Sura liv. 49.

<sup>206</sup> Sura lviii. 22.

<sup>207</sup> Suras iv. 154; vii. 98; ix. 88, 94; x. 75; xvi. 38, 110; xviii. 101; xxx. 59; xl. 37; xlvii. 18; lxiii. 3. But see Sir W. Muir, *Life of Mohammad*, p. 516. "Mohammad held the progress of events in the divine hand to be amenable to the influence of prayer."

<sup>208</sup> Sura xiv. 4; also vii. 39; lxxiv. 34; li. 9.

<sup>209</sup> Sura vi. 35, 150.

<sup>210</sup> Sura xi. 120.

<sup>211</sup> Sura iii. 154; see art. KHADHLĀN in *Enc. Isl.*, II, p. 960; also Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

<sup>212</sup> Suras xvi. 38; xxi. 101.

<sup>213</sup> Sura vii. 177.

<sup>214</sup> Sura lxxvi. 29-30.

<sup>215</sup> *Enc. Isl.*, II, art. KĀSP p. 786.

originated, produced by Allāh but it is 'acquired' (*maksūb*) by the creature, by which is meant its being brought into connection with his power and will without there resulting any effect from him in it or any introduction to its existence, only that he is a locus (*maḥall*) for it."<sup>216</sup> It is not necessary to enter any further into these theological discussions except to point out that the Mu'tazilites in general (following the Qadarites)<sup>217</sup> were obliged to combat practically every item of this orthodox predestinarian belief, namely, want of human freedom and the illusoriness of free choice, Divine grace as producing faith in believers and Divine will as prompting unbelief in infidels, arbitrary morality and eternal decree, and the positive relation of God to evil or wrong.<sup>218</sup> But all spirits did not possess the boldness of the Mu'tazilites; and so, as Nicholson remarks,<sup>219</sup> "the fatalistic spirit which brooded darkly over the childhood of Islām—the feeling that all human actions are determined by an unseen Power, and in themselves are worthless and vain—caused renunciation to become the watchword of early Moslem asceticism."

Divine will affected not only the wills of men but also their destinies—we may even say that it is because Allāh had fixed the fates of men that He determined their will. By an eternal decree the destinies of men have all been fixed and recorded in the preserved table and no one can escape the unalterable fate fixed by God. The tradition about the heartless manner in which Allāh is supposed to have elected some for salvation and the rest for damnation has often been

<sup>216</sup> This is Al-Ash'arī's doctrine of *intisāb*. See *Enc. Isl.*, II, pp. 605 and 786; Sura viii. 17; also Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

<sup>217</sup> Of course, there were exceptions.—See Wensinck, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-92.

<sup>218</sup> The prevailing conception of God as the All-Powerful is not far removed from the idea of a despot, and fear, thus separate from love, is either the incentive to all effort or leads to the repression of all energy in the Muslim. The idea of unlimited arbitrary power, unrestrained by any law of holiness, has so filled the Muslim mind that sin is regarded less as a breach of moral law than as a violation of some arbitrary decree. Certain actions of the Prophet were evil according to any law of righteousness; but no Muslim would admit that in doing them Muḥammad committed a sin, for he acted under the command of God.—ERE. vi. 302. See also xi. 149, art. SALVATION (Muslim).

<sup>219</sup> Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, p. 36.

quoted : “ When God resolved to create the human race, He took into His hands a mass of earth, the same whence all mankind were to be formed, and in which they after a manner pre-existed ; and having then divided the clod into two equal portions, He threw the one half into hell, saying, “ These to eternal fire, and I care not ” ; and projected the other half into heaven, adding, “ and these to Paradise, I care not.” <sup>220</sup> Moral regeneration may be the condition of salvation, but no man can bring that about except with God’s permission, decree and will. On the other hand, “ the process of perdition is that God abandons man by withdrawing His guidance ; thereupon man abandons his faith and the *tertius gaudens*, Satan, is at hand to rob him of it.” <sup>221</sup> A distinction was indeed drawn between God compelling belief and unbelief and His foreknowing and willing the same, <sup>222</sup> but the final position was summarised in the tradition : <sup>223</sup> “ If Allāh should punish the inhabitants of His heavens and the inhabitants of His earth, He would not thereby do injustice. And if you should spend in the path of Allāh an amount larger than Mount Uhud, He would not accept it from you unless you believe in the decree and acknowledge that what reaches you could not possibly have missed you, and what misses you could not possibly have reached you.” Or, as al-Ghazālī puts it, <sup>224</sup> “ His justice is not to be compared with the justice of men. For a man may be supposed to act unjustly by invading the possession of another ; but no injustice can be conceived by God, inasmuch as there is nothing that belongs to any other besides Himself, so that wrong is not imputable to Him as meddling with things not appertaining to Him.....Loving kindness, the showing favour and grace, and beneficence, belong to Him ; whereas it is in His power to pour forth upon men a variety of torments, and

<sup>220</sup> See Hughes, *Dic. Isl.*, p. 148 (art. GOD); also p. 472 (art. PREDESTINATION). But see Muhammad Ali, *The Religion of Islām*, pp. 335-37.

<sup>221</sup> Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 191, 211.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid*, p. 108.

<sup>224</sup> Hughes, *Dic. Isl.*, p. 146 (art. GOD).

afflict them with various kinds of sorrows and diseases, which, if He were to do, His justice could not be arraigned, nor would He be chargeable with injustice."

That the problem of adjusting Divine justice to Divine decree raised acute difficulties can be easily gathered from the Traditions. If "everyone is guided to that for which he was created,"<sup>225</sup> one can never be sure how one would finish one's career. A life-time of good works may be spoiled by that stubbornness of heart which refuses to acknowledge the unity of Allāh and the apostleship of Muhammad; and a life spent in evil may be redeemed at the end by the timely acceptance of the saving creed. Wensinck quotes a number of traditions<sup>226</sup> in support of the views that "There is no living soul for which Allāh has not appointed its place in Paradise or in Hell, and the decision of happy or unhappy has already been taken," and "Works must be judged from the concluding acts (*al-khawātīm*) only." To quote one of them:<sup>227</sup> "A man may perform the works of the dwellers in Paradise for a long time, yet his work may receive finally the stamp of that of the dwellers in Hell. Likewise a man may perform the works of the dwellers in Hell for a long time, yet his works may finally receive the stamp of that of the dwellers in Paradise." It appears, however, that where the criterion of faith was inapplicable, there was a good deal of difficulty in assessing the final destiny. Thus the fates of the children of infidels and believers who die in infancy were subjects of considerable discussion.<sup>228</sup> A strong tradition upheld the

<sup>225</sup> See Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 55-56.

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid*, p. 55.

<sup>228</sup> For a discussion of the whole subject, see Wensinck, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-44. "Al-Ghazālī developed the doctrine of a Limbo for those who, by reason of youth, mental affliction, historical and geographical situation and environment, had not been able to become Muslims and, therefore, had no works of obedience, in the technical sense, to their credit."—*Enc. Isl.*, II, p. 1051. See the *Fikh Akbar* III, art. 4, in Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 265. Cf. the *Fikh Akbar* III, art. 21:—

It would be absurd to suppose that Allāh should wrong anyone. He is free to impose suffering on innocent children and animals without indemnifying them.—Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 267.



view that every child is born in the *fiṭra*, the natural basis of the true religion, and that it is his parents that make of him a Jew or a Christian or a Parsi;<sup>229</sup> but another tradition laid down that when God knows that a child will become a Muslim, it is born in Islām,—otherwise it is born in unbelief.<sup>230</sup> We are interested in these arid discussions of dogma only in so far as they throw light on the nature and limits of Divine volition in relation to human destiny. The futility of works under those conditions was foreseen and works were enjoined not to force the hands of Allāh regarding a better future but to indicate rather that one was living under Divine guidance.<sup>231</sup>

The Mu'tazilites were not slow to perceive, as the Qadarites had done before them, that unless man's acts were his own, he could not be held responsible for them or their consequences, and that Divine justice would be impugned by accepting the view that God decrees Paradise or Hell before man has deserved either of them by his virtuous or vicious acts. But even al-Ghazālī, dealing with the acts of Allāh, could remark that "there does not rest on Him any obligation to give laws, to create, to give reward, to take into account what is salutary for His servants; that it is not absurd that He should command them to do what is above their power; that He is not obliged to punish sins; and that it is not absurd that He should send Prophets."<sup>232</sup> Fortunately, the Qur'ān contains many verses in support of the freedom of the will<sup>233</sup> and the justice of Divine dealings with saints and sinners alike. God not only watches and records the deeds of men but He visits the iniquitous with dire punishment on the Day of Judgment when the creatures wronged bear witness against their oppressors, the good and the evil done by each individual are carefully and justly weighed against

<sup>229</sup> Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 42. See Muhammad Ali, *The Religion of Islām*. pp. 339-40.

<sup>230</sup> *Ibid*, p. 43.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid*, p. 56.

<sup>232</sup> *Ibid*, p. 95.

<sup>233</sup> See Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 50 f.

each other in the Balance,<sup>234</sup> and the intercession of interceders do not avail.<sup>235</sup> He and His vigilant agents, the angels, watch over the thoughts and acts of men by day and by night :<sup>236</sup> every soul "shall enjoy the good which it has acquired and shall bear the evil for the acquirement of which it laboured,"<sup>237</sup> even though either should be only of the weight of an atom or of a mustard-seed.<sup>238</sup> Righteousness is serving Allāh as if He were before one's very eyes.<sup>239</sup> Again and again are the Faithful commanded to enjoin the right and forbid the wrong,<sup>240</sup> and they are even praised as being "the best folk that hath been raised up for mankind" inasmuch as they enjoin the Just, forbid the Evil and believe in God.<sup>241</sup> A religion which insists on justice being an essential condition of the religious life cannot but invest God with the same attribute. God is not unjust towards His servants.<sup>242</sup> Orthodox Islām, with its predestinarian leanings, could not subscribe wholeheartedly to the Mu'tazilite view that sinning was wholly due to human volition<sup>243</sup> and it had therefore to combat these "partisans of unity and justice" (*ahl al-'adl wa'l-tawhīd*), in so far as they made man wholly responsible for moral evil in order to defend Divine justice.<sup>244</sup> But with

<sup>234</sup> Suras xxi. 48; vii. 7.

<sup>235</sup> Suras lxxiv. 49; lxxxii. 19; ii. 45.

<sup>236</sup> Suras xiii. 11-12; lxxxii. 10-12.

<sup>237</sup> Sura ii. 286.

<sup>238</sup> Suras xcix. 7, 8; xxi. 48; iii. 111; xxxi. 15; also iv. 52.

<sup>239</sup> See Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

<sup>240</sup> Sura iii. 100; ix. 72, 113; xxi. 42; cf. also Sura vii. 156; iii. 110; xxxi. 16.

<sup>241</sup> Sura iii. 106.

<sup>242</sup> Sura iv. 44.

<sup>243</sup> The orthodox position is summed up in *Fikh Akbar II* (art. 22) as follows :

Allāh guideth whomsoever He pleaseth, by grace, and He leadeth astray whomsoever He pleaseth, by justice. His leading astray means His abandoning, and the explanation of "abandoning" is that He does not help a man by guiding him towards deeds that please Him. This is justice on his part, and so is His punishment of those who are abandoned on account of sin. We are not allowed to say that Satan deprives the Faithful of his faith by constraint and compulsion. But we say that man gives up his faith, whereupon Satan deprives him of it (Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 195).

<sup>244</sup> The Mu'tazilites did not reject the connection between Allāh and evil in the sense of accidents, sickness, and so on. At least one thinker, however, rejected even this connection.—See Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

a happy inconsistency it looked upon Allāh as the Just (Al-'Adl), the Faithful (Al-Mu'min), the Judge (Al-Hakam), the Righteous (Al-Bārr), the Equitable (Al-Muqsit), and also the Lord of the Day of Judgment,—variously described as the opener (Al-Bāsiṭ), the Great Opener (Al-Fattāḥ) and the Opener of the Tomb or the Raiser (Al-Bā'ith) and the Avenger (Al-Muntaqim). He does not forsake those who obey His commands, for He is the Great Grateful (Ash-Shakūr); in Him can all take refuge in case of injustice, for He is the Friend, the Patron (Al-Walī), of all creatures; and on those that believe and do the things that are right He bestows His love,<sup>245</sup> for He is the Loving (Al-Wadūd).

But if God is loving, will He not take compassion on the frailty of man and temper justice with mercy in cases of lighter faults? <sup>246</sup> Even in cases of grave sins, we have already seen, the Qur'ān provides for intercession with Allāh's permission, which means that God does not wish to abandon the sinner altogether and consign him to eternal hell if he has died with belief in Divine unity.<sup>247</sup> To suppose that the whole process is illusory in view of the predestined end of every single individual might yield consistency of thought but not satisfaction of the heart. No religion that believes in the incapacity of man to achieve salvation without Divine aid can dispense with the necessity either of Divine Incarnation or of Prophetic Intercession or of Divine Mercy. Unless Divine Grace second the efforts of men (and even dispense with the latter), their final destiny is dark and dismal in the extreme. Hence the Qur'ān had to preach not only submission to the inscrutable will and decree of Allāh but also faith in Divine Justice and hope for Divine Mercy. Thus although there are passages to indicate that Divine Justice can overtake sinning

<sup>245</sup> Sura xix. 96. See ERE. v. 696 :—"The orthodox view is that they (īmān and Islām) are synonymous, and that a Muslim is a *mu'min*, a believer. By others, Islām is looked upon as a larger term than īmān. It is said that Islām signifies belief with the heart, confession with the tongue, and good works done by the various parts of the body. Imān refers to the first of these and is, therefore, only a component part of Islām."

<sup>246</sup> Sura liii. 33.

<sup>247</sup> See Sura ix. 114-15.

## DIVINE FORGIVENESS

individuals and nations only at a predestined time,<sup>248</sup> other passages allude to the patience with which Allāh bears their iniquities and the quickness with which He forgives repentant sinners.<sup>249</sup> He is the Patient, the Long-suffering (Aṣ-Ṣabūr), the Clement (Al-Ḥalīm), the Generous (Al-Karīm), the Lenient or Kind (Ar-Ra'ūf), the Forgiver (Al-Ghāfir), the Much Forgiver (Al-Ghaffār), the Pardoner (Al-'Afuww), the Acceptor of Repentance (At-Tawwāb) and of Prayer (Al-Mujīb). His mercy embraces all things<sup>250</sup> and He never punishes until He has first sent in His mercy an Apostle as a warner,<sup>251</sup> the Qur'ān, for instance, being a mercy unto all creatures.<sup>252</sup> The Lord judges with truth but He is also the God of Mercy.<sup>253</sup> Every sūra in the Qur'ān, with the exception of the ninth, begins with the words, "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful" (Bismillāh-i'r-Rahmān-i'r-Rahīm).<sup>254</sup> One of the finest verses closes the second sūra of the Qur'ān:<sup>255</sup>

"God will not burden any soul beyond its power. It shall enjoy the good which it hath acquired, and shall bear the evil

The test of belief is prayer according to the tradition "Between faith and unbelief lies the neglect of prayer." According to Islamic tradition the seven grave sins are Polytheism, magic, unlawful man-slaying, spending the money of orphans, usury, desertion from battle, and slandering chaste but heedless women who are faithful.

"According to the orthodox view polytheism is the only sin which is inconsistent with being a Muslim. A man who is guilty of other sins does not thereby lose this character. Allāh may punish him in Hell, or He may grant him forgiveness even without previous repentance."—See Wensinck, *op cit.* p. 39 f.; also p. 46; also p. 104 f (the word 'for ever' of Sura iv. 95 being interpreted as 'for a long time').

<sup>248</sup> Sura xxiii. 45.

<sup>249</sup> Sura xl. 1-3; similarly, men are asked to "seek help through patience and prayer: verily God is with the patient" (Sura ii. 148; also Sura iii. 140).

<sup>250</sup> Sura vii. 155.

<sup>251</sup> Sura xvii. 16.

<sup>252</sup> Sura xxi.

<sup>253</sup> Sura xxi. 112. The opposite verse is Sura vi. 148: "Your Lord is of all-embracing mercy: but his severity shall not be turned aside from the wicked."  
<sup>254</sup> Once only does it occur in the middle of a Sura, viz., in Sura xxvii. 30. For Jewish, Christian and Zoroastrian parallels, see Sale's Preliminary Discourse in his *Comprehensive Commentary on the Qur'ān*, Vol. I, p. 100 (Sale thinks that the formula was borrowed from the Persian Magi).  
<sup>255</sup> Sura ii. 286; see also xxiii. 65.

for the acquirement of which it laboured. O our Lord! punish us not if we forget, or fall into sin; O our Lord! and lay not on us a load like that which Thou hast laid on those who have been before us; O our Lord! and lay not on us that for which we have not strength! but blot out our sins and forgive us, and have pity on us. 'Thou art our protector: help us then against the unbelievers.' A prayer like this is farthest removed from belief in unalterable fate and fixed destiny. From a God of this description only good could be expected and the Mu'tazilites drew the inevitable conclusion that, provided men freely acted for it, they were bound to get their reward, for God's wisdom "keeps in view what is salutary (*aş-şalāh*) to His servants"<sup>256</sup> from the religious point of view. They could very well quote Sūra ix. 113: "Those who turn to God in penitence, those who worship, those who pray, who fast, who bow down, who prostrate themselves, who enjoin what is right and forbid what is unlawful, and keep to the bounds of God, shall have their recompense."<sup>257</sup>

There is no doubt that in spite of its pedestinarian teachings the Qur'ān did not consider man's moral struggles as illusory or Divine beneficence as regardless of human justice and prayer. While severe to those who consciously and deliberately flout His laws, God is possessed of an all-embracing mercy<sup>258</sup> that is ever ready to make concession for human weakness, for "He hath imposed mercy on Himself as a law"<sup>259</sup> and none except a disbelieving people need despair of His mercy.<sup>260</sup> "If ye would reckon up the favours of God, ye cannot count them."<sup>261</sup> If men had power over the treasures of the Lord's mercy, they would have assuredly retained them through fear of spending them, for man is

<sup>256</sup> Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 62; also pp. 80-82.

<sup>257</sup> See also xxv. 67-9; xvii. 27-8.

<sup>258</sup> Sura ii. 148; see also i. 31-33.

<sup>259</sup> Sura ii. 12.

<sup>260</sup> Sura xii. 87; also iv. 51; xv. 56.

<sup>261</sup> Suras xiv. 37; xvi. 18.

niggardly;<sup>262</sup> but God's mercy knows no bounds. God is Lord of Grace, merciful and loving, and the least that man can do is to give Him thanks; but man is proud, treacherous, ungrateful and unfaithful and does not understand and appreciate the many mercies with which God has encircled him—the regularity of the seasons and the beauties and bounties of nature.<sup>263</sup> But those who seek God's mercy must approach Him with clean hands; they must not only be not unjust to their fellow-men, mischievous or self-conceited but also be benevolent to the needy and the weak. They must fulfil their social obligations by sharing the bounties of Divine mercy with their less fortunate brethren.<sup>264</sup> The deepest point of this vein of thinking is reached when Allāh is described as the Holy One (Al-Quddūs) (or, as in the Qur'ān, the King, the Holy),<sup>265</sup> the Ever Praiseworthy (Al-Ḥamīd), the One who is to be likened to whatever is loftiest,<sup>266</sup> the Peaceful or the One immune from all lack or defect (As-Salām),<sup>267</sup> the Light (An-Nūr), and the Fact or the Real (Al-Ḥaqq). It has been a matter of conjecture as to what the Qur'ān intended to convey by the words 'Holiness,' 'Peace' and 'Light' <sup>268</sup> and it has also been doubted whether Muhammad could call God 'just' <sup>269</sup> and also whether the Reality of God could leave room for independent finite centres of activity.<sup>270</sup> But if we make no fetish of strict logic but try instead to enter into the spirit of the moral and devotional life of the Muslims, we are bound to admit that these words have exactly the same significance for spiritual life in Islām as in other systems of ethical monotheism and that on the whole the Muslim conception of God, apart from its latent theological contradictions, provides a

<sup>262</sup> Sura xvii. 103.

<sup>263</sup> Sura iv. The Merciful.

<sup>264</sup> Suras lxiv. 17; lxxiii. 20; cvii. 4-7; xx. 84.

<sup>265</sup> Suras lix. 23; lxii. 1.

<sup>266</sup> Sura xvi. 62.

<sup>267</sup> Sura lix. 23.

<sup>268</sup> *Enc. Isl.*, I, p. 303.

<sup>269</sup> *Enc. Isl.*, I, p. 303.

<sup>270</sup> See Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology*, p. 203.

striking testimony to the intellectual acumen and ethical insight of its founder even after large deductions have been made from the almost superhuman qualities claimed on behalf of the Prophet by his followers.

Christian writers have sometimes doubted whether the Muslim God is sufficiently personal.<sup>271</sup> The awful majesty of Allāh, His transcendence, the impropriety of conceiving Him after human analogy, the impossibility of fixing His nature definitely in view of the contingent character of all objects, laws and relations, created and decreed by Him—all these are unfavourable factors for personalising Him. But here again we should trust to the belief of the Muslim community rather than to a description of the following type: <sup>272</sup> “But He Himself, sterile in His inaccessible height, neither loving nor enjoying aught save His own and self-measured decree, without son, companion, or counsellor, is no less barren of Himself than for His creatures, and His own barrenness and lone egoism in Himself is the cause and rule of His indifferent and unregarding despotism around.” The consideration of Divine names and attributes would be unmeaning except on the supposition that God is personal and deals with the just and the wicked as a personal being would do. Revelation, command, prohibition, threat, encouragement, justice, mercy and love can hardly be predicated of an impersonal Force or Consciousness. It has, however, been more correctly remarked <sup>273</sup> that “with only a little ingenuity in

<sup>271</sup> The following passage from C. J. J. Webb, *Religion and Theism* (1934), p. 47, is instructive in this connection: “It would probably surprise many critics of traditional language to learn what is nevertheless true, that ‘the personality of God’ is a phrase unknown to Christian theology until well within the last two hundred years; that ‘personality’ was not reckoned among the divine ‘attributes’ so-called and was long ascribed to God only in connexion with the ‘three persons’ worshipped by the Christian Church as one God; and that even the early Socinian divines were not concerned to insist upon ascribing ‘personality’ to him, but only to contend that, if the term were employed in reference to God (which employment they were inclined to deprecate), he would be spoken of as *One Person*, and not as three.” (See the same writer’s *God and Personality*, Lec. III.)

<sup>272</sup> Hughes, *Dic. Isl.*, p. 147, quoting Palgrave.

<sup>273</sup> *Enc. Isl.*, I, art. ALLAH, p. 306.

onesidedness an absolutely anthropomorphic deity could be put together or a practically pantheistic, or a coldly and aloofly rationalistic " and that " the only impossibility, as the Mu'tazilites found in the end, was a *fainéant* God, a stripped abstract idea." We may close our account by reference to these aspects of Muslim theology.

Although Muslim theologians, in their opposition to idolatry and anthropopathism, took particular care to point out that human qualities predicated of Allāh did not bear the same significance, yet there are passages in the Qur'ān which could be understood only anthropomorphically. The Mu'tazilites were not slow to point out that the qualities of seeing, hearing and speech, when taken separately from knowledge and power, could apply only to a Being possessed of a body and were, therefore, not rightly used of God by the orthodox section of the community. When even spiritual qualities like knowledge, will, mercy, justice, etc., could be only metaphorically used of God or used with a profoundly different connotation, the physical attributes were hardly appropriate as descriptions of Divine nature: so thought the Rationalists of Islām.<sup>274</sup> But, on the other hand, the orthodox felt that some of the descriptions were so realistic that there was obvious danger in taking them as " plastic metaphors "; for once the wit of man was allowed to understand the words of God in its own way, there was no knowing how far allegorical interpretation would extend. Thus, to quote Wensinck,<sup>275</sup> " the Kur'ān speaks of the eyes of Allāh; of His hand in which " is the empire of all things," " in which are plentiful gifts " and which is " over the hands of those who plight fealty to Muhammad." Allāh tells Iblis (Satan) that He had created Adam with His own hands. " Both His hands are outstretched." " The face of Allāh is likewise a representation familiar to the Kur'ān." " All on earth passeth away, but the face of thy Lord abideth." " Finally, the Kur'ān is full of descriptions of

<sup>274</sup> Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 66; see also pp. 73 f., 86, 88 f.

<sup>275</sup> Wensinck, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67.



Heaven and Hell, which are not used in a metaphorical sense. To Heaven belongs the throne of Allāh ; He is the Lord of the throne, the noble, large, exalted throne, which is borne by the angels." The faithful of this earth, on entering Paradise, " shall see the angels circling around the throne, uttering the praises of their Lord." Again, Allāh is represented in the Qur'ān, as in the Old Testament, as having spoken with Moses, and the Faithful are assured of seeing Allāh in Paradise just as, according to Muslim tradition, Muhammad had done in the night of the Ascension. He is also described in a tradition as descending every night to the lowest heaven and offering beneficence and forgiveness to all who would ask for them.<sup>276</sup>

While the Mu'tazilites severely criticised the anthropomorphic conceptions of Allāh, preached in popular and traditional literature, and rejected the corporeal vision of God in Paradise and all physical attributes and actions of Allāh, including His occupying a throne supported by eight angels,<sup>277</sup> there were others who were willing to go farther than the orthodox in the direction of anthropomorphism and to invest Allāh with tangible qualities. Thus, " Hishām ibn al-Hakām claimed that that which he worshipped was a body possessing dimensions, height, breadth and thickness, its height being equal to its breadth and to its depth, while its length and breadth are specified only as long and broad. He held, moreover, that its extension upward is no greater than its breadth. In addition, he claimed that the object that he worshipped was a diffusing light, shining as a pure chain of silver; and as a pearl perfectly rounded. This object also possessed, according to him, colour, taste, smell, touch. He also claims that its colour is its taste, its taste its smell, its smell its touch. He does not say that colour and taste are its essence, but he claims that the object itself is colour

<sup>276</sup> Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

<sup>277</sup> *Ibid*, p. 68 f. Thus God's hand and face were taken in the sense of Divine bounty and knowledge.

and taste."<sup>227</sup> Similarly, Hishām ibn Sālim al-Jawālīkī "claimed that the object which he worshipped was in the image of man, but was not flesh and blood, being a diffused white light. He claimed also that he possesses five senses, like the senses of man, and has hands and feet and eyes and ears and nose and mouth, and he hears by a different means from that by which he sees, and the rest of the senses being different in the same way. He goes on to say that the upper half of this being is hollow and the lower is solid." Further, "he claims that his object of worship had black hair, it being a black light, but the rest of the person is white light."<sup>228</sup> Shāhiban ibn Salamah al-Khārījī "held the doctrine of the likeness of Allāh to his creatures."<sup>229</sup> These instances must suffice to show that spasmodic attempts to understand God more anthropomorphically were made even in Islām; but it should be added that they were at once stigmatised by the orthodox community as heretical. As a matter of fact, however, orthodoxy fought with equal tenacity both anthropomorphism and allegorisation. Hence the Mu'tazilite attempt to put a spiritual interpretation upon Divine physical acts was equally anathematised. al-Ash'arī voiced the orthodox opinion when he exclaimed, "May Allāh preserve us from a *tanzīh* which would imply negation and *ta'tīl*"<sup>231</sup> (i.e., divesting God of what pertains to Him). He was willing to admit that "hand and face are hand as a quality and face as a quality, just as hearing and sight," and so likewise are descending to the lowest Heaven and sitting on the throne qualities of Allāh; but he was against either understanding these in terms of human organs and their activities or regarding them as merely symbolical of spiritual facts.<sup>232</sup> Similarly, in

<sup>227</sup> *Muslim Schisms and Sects* (tr. Seelye), p. 67. (See Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 67.)

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103.

<sup>231</sup> Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

<sup>232</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92 f.

the various formulæ of the Muslim creed, the seeing of Allāh by the Faithful in Paradise was accepted as a fact finally settled by tradition on the basis of Quranic texts,<sup>283</sup> although anthropomorphism was sought to be avoided by adding that the beatific vision would be "without description, comparison or modality."<sup>284</sup>

But while the orthodox were speculating how Allāh would reveal Himself to the Faithful in Paradise, a different set of people began to build their philosophy of life and devotion on the more mystical texts of the Qur'ān. While the transcendental aspect of God is predominant in the Qur'ān<sup>285</sup> and orthodoxy tended to accentuate the remoteness of Allāh and the duality of God and the finite spirit, the nearness of God could be equally defended on the Quranic basis. The Sūfis could cite and meditate on certain passages (as they particularly did on the mysterious passages concerning the Night Journey and Ascension)<sup>286</sup> to justify and bring about mystical experience and could also point to Muhammad's habit of retiring into solitude in imitation of Christian ascetics and his ecstatic fit when receiving his inspiration and to that moral and spiritual earnestness of his which could come only to one who had felt the terrible nearness of God.<sup>287</sup> We may quote some of those passages as collected by Nicholson:<sup>288</sup> 'Allāh is the Light of the heavens and the earth' (xxiv. 35); 'He is the first and the last and the outward and the inward' (lvii. 3); 'there is no god but He; everything is perishing except His Face' (xxviii. 88);<sup>289</sup> 'I

<sup>283</sup> Wensinck, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-80; (see Quranic references there). Wensinck thinks "the meeting with Allāh" possibly means resurrection.

<sup>284</sup> See art. 24 of The Waṣīyat Abī Hanīfa (p. 130) and art. 17 of the Fikh Akbar II (p. 193) and the Fikh Akbar III (p. 266) in Wensinck, *op. cit.* See also pp. 179. and 63 f.

<sup>285</sup> See Archer, *op. cit.*, p. 32 f.; *The Legacy of Islam*, p. 212.

<sup>286</sup> Suras xvii. 1; liii. 1-18; see Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, p. 212.

<sup>287</sup> See Macdonald, *Rel. Att. and Life in Islam*, p. 39.

<sup>288</sup> *The Legacy of Islam*, p. 212.

<sup>289</sup> On this favourite expression of Muhammad ("The Face of Allah"), see Macdonald, *Aspects of Islam*, pp. 186-87, where the different Quranic passages have been quoted.



out here, for there are passages in the Qur'ān that talk of "an intercourse with God coming to the believer directly, without intermediaries" <sup>296</sup> and the rest, calm and strength that come to man through frequent remembrance of Allāh (*dhikr*). <sup>297</sup> "God truly misleadeth whom He will; and He guideth to Himself him who turneth to Him, those who believe, and whose hearts rest securely on the thought of God." <sup>298</sup> Such religious intuition comes from Allāh Himself <sup>299</sup> and is "opposed to knowledge that comes by human teaching, or by tradition, or through any thinking out by reason." <sup>300</sup> If man has been made in the image of God and He has breathed into man of His spirit, all that is necessary is to polish the mirror of one's own heart in order to know God. <sup>301</sup> Did not a tradition represent God as saying, "My earth cannot contain me, nor my heaven, but the tender and tranquil heart of my believing creature contains me"? <sup>302</sup>

It was reserved for the mystics of Islām to develop the unity, ubiquity and eternity of Allāh in a pantheistic sense among others. Under Christian, Neo-Platonic, Gnostic, Buddhistic and Vedāntic influences <sup>303</sup> the "ascetic-ecstatic life" rapidly grew in prominence, <sup>304</sup> and saints and sūfīs ab-

<sup>296</sup> Macdonald, *Aspects of Islam*, p. 189.

<sup>297</sup> Sura xxxiii. 41. See Nicholson, *Mystics of Islam*, p. 45 f.

<sup>298</sup> Sura xiii. 27-28.

<sup>299</sup> 'The Sufi doctrine of *istinbāt*, 'mysterious inflow of divinely revealed knowledge into hearts made pure by repentance and filled with the thought of God,' was based on the possibility of direct knowledge from God.—Nicholson, *Mystics of Islam*, p. 23.

<sup>300</sup> Macdonald, *Asp. Isl.*, p. 190. The Sūfis distinguish three organs of spiritual communication: the heart (*qalb*), which knows God; the spirit (*ruh*) which loves Him; and the inmost ground of the soul (*sirr*), which contemplates Him.—Nicholson, *Mystics of Islam*, p. 68.

<sup>301</sup> On al-Ghazālī's interpretation of the function of the heart, see Macdonald, *Rel. Att. and Life in Islam*, Lec. VIII (esp. p. 242); also p. 253. See Nicholson, *Mystics of Islam*, p. 70.

<sup>302</sup> Macdonald, *Rel. Att. and Life in Islam*, pp. 243-44; Nicholson, *Mys. of Isl.*, p. 68; also pp. 8, 53.

<sup>303</sup> See Nicholson, *Mystics of Islam*, p. 10 f., for the origin of Sufism.

<sup>304</sup> Its oldest type is an ascetic revolt against luxury and worldliness; later on the prevailing rationalism and scepticism provoked counter-movements towards intuitive knowledge and emotional faith.—Nicholson, *Mys. of Isl.*, p. 20 (For the equivalents of 'ecstasy,' see p. 59).

sorbed a portion of the reverence paid in orthodox Islām to Allāh alone. Ḥallāj, indeed, had to pay the penalty of his impious presumption with his life, but his *Anā 'l-Ḥaqq* (I am the Real or God) lived on in the theories of *ḥulūl* (fusion of being), *ittiḥād* (identification) and *wuṣūl* (union) and of *fanā* (passing away) and *baqā* (union with the Divine consciousness or life in God).<sup>305</sup> Under the transforming hand of Sūfism the nature and function of Muhammad himself underwent profound alteration. He became more and more assimilated to God and identified with the Divine Spirit and with Universal Reason,<sup>306</sup> and even prayers were offered to him to forgive and annul sins.<sup>307</sup> Man ceased to be regarded as a mere slave of Allāh and the orthodox warning against attempting to think of God in familiar terms—as the Beloved, for instance—was unheeded or ignored.<sup>308</sup> The unity of God was conceived in a way which threatened to take away the reality of the Finite Spirit or else to expand it into, and identify it with, the Infinite. But while in Hinduism the essential identity of the finite (*jīva*) and the infinite (*Brahman*) dominated all religious speculation and belief, in Islām zealous orthodoxy lost no time in denouncing

<sup>305</sup> See Nicholson, *The Idea of Personality in Sufism*, p. 14 f; *Mystics of Islam*, p. 148 f.; *Studies in Isl. Mysticism*, p. 125 f.; Macdonald, *Rel. Att. and Life in Islam*, p. 248. Commenting on Sūfi pantheism, Nicholson observes (*Idea of Per. in Sufism*, p. 27): "It would be a mistake to suppose that utterances like the *Subḥānī*, "Glory to me," of Bayazīd, the *Anā 'l-Ḥaqq*, "I am God," of Ḥallāj, and the *Ana Itiya*, "I am She," of Ibnu 'l-Fāriḍ are in themselves evidences of pantheism. So long as transcendence is recognised, the most emphatic assertion of immanence is not pantheism but panentheism—not the doctrine that all is God, but the doctrine that all is in God, who is also above all." (See also his *Mystics of Islam*, pp. 18, 58; for the absence of 'self' in a Sufi and its presence in a faqir, see p. 38).

<sup>306</sup> See Nicholson, *Idea of Per. in Sufism*, p. 60 f; also *Mys. Isl.*, p. 82, which quotes the tradition "He that hath seen me hath seen Allāh" (an obvious imitation of John 14.9).

<sup>307</sup> Nicholson, *Idea of Per. in Sufism*, p. 67.

<sup>308</sup> A quotation by Nicholson is instructive: "O my God, I invoke Thee in public as lords are invoked, but in private as loved ones are invoked. Publicly I say, 'O my God!' but privately I say, 'O my Beloved!'" (*Mys. of Isl.*, p. 8). See also p. 73 (quotation from Niffari): "God is the eternal Beauty, and it lies in the nature of beauty to desire love."—*Ibid*, p. 80.

this pantheistic attitude of Sūfī writers and in asserting that Allāh's transcendence could not be questioned and man could not be raised to divine honours or identified with or related to God: *Allāhu akbar*—Allāh is greater than everything that can be said of Him “in any sense of relationship or comparison.” <sup>309</sup>

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<sup>309</sup> Macdonald, *Rel. Att. and Life in Islam*, p. 247. See also Nicholson, *Mystics of Islam*, p. 79 f.

## CHAPTER IX

### GOD IN ZOROASTRIANISM : GATHIC

We have now traced at some length the evolution of religious ideas in Hinduism and the living Semitic faiths. From polytheistic and still more primitive beginnings the races of India, Palestine and Arabia have, with more or less frequent lapses, worked their way up to the idea of a single omnipotent, omniscient and moral Deity—beneficent, just, forgiving and loving. In fact, in their eagerness to defend the unity and ubiquity of God, they have very often been tempted to attenuate, and even obliterate, the reality of the finite by their pantheistic and predestinarian doctrines, or at least to detract from the value of the temporal in order to fix men's gaze upon the eternal. The Semitic religions strove to accentuate the creature-consciousness of man, and Hinduism, when it did not fall in line with theism, attempted to equate the Absolute and the Individual; but the ultimate effect in both cases was to extol the Infinite and to make man feel the littleness of the Finite. All beings were equally involved in the submergence of the finite, so that not only men but also other types of spiritual beings—gods, angels, etc. shared the same fate. These latter types were either roundly declared to be non-existent or suffered to exist as agents and messengers of God, entrusted with the task of assisting in the Divine governance of the world or moulding the moral character of His creatures. Side by side with a growing intellectual appreciation of the nature and function of God has gone on a moral development, and correspondingly the cosmic dealings of God have acquired increasing reference to His ethical dealings with man.

The progressive disappearance of nature-myths and of detached direct dealings of God with the physical and the moral world may be taken as the sign of an enlightened view



about the ways of God. No one dares to presume the exact purpose of the Divine creative activity nor to define precisely the degree of reality possessed by each type of existence, material and spiritual. But the almost unanimous conviction of the 'positive religions that in the last days the physical world would be a matter practically of no concern and only the souls of spiritual beings would be garnered in heaven or hell<sup>1</sup> may be interpreted to mean that the main, if not the only, purpose of creation is to provide a field of moral probation for finite spirits. There is, therefore, much truth in the philosophic position that unless 'creators' or morally responsible persons are created nothing is really created.<sup>2</sup> God is inconceivable as a lonely Robinson Crusoe in a physical world created by himself, nor is the purpose of creation fulfilled by bringing into existence spiritual phantoms, who would view passively the Divine world of ideas from their own limited standpoints, or casual artefacts who would satisfy the Divine longing and love for an other. Religions have always insisted (and to this even Vedāntism and Islām are no exceptions) that the reality of the Finite includes the reality of free choice with all that it implies. Where, as in Vedāntism, the ultimate objective is to transcend both good and evil (and consequently to abjure both heaven and hell), the distinction between God and man disappears also,—whether that does or does not entail the assumption of an impersonal Absolute (*c.g.* Brahman) need not be discussed at present.

We are concerned just now, however, with an opposite problem. Suppose a religion possesses the necessary ethical conditions of a spiritual life: would these suffice for satisfying the religious craving of a community? We have already remarked that in religion, as distinguished from morality, man is in a double relation, namely, in a relation

<sup>1</sup> When bodily resurrection is a part of the religious belief, the raised body is generally supposed not to be physical in the ordinary sense of the term.

<sup>2</sup> Pringle-Pattison, *Idea of God*, p. 285 f; Ward, *Realm of Ends*, p. 271. See Lotze, *Outlines of the Philosophy of Religion* (tr. by Conybeare), p. 93

to something beyond and, through it, in a relation to the things of the world, specially to other spiritual beings of the same order of existence. Some bold spirits have dared to dispense with the first altogether while some others have expressed their belief in the possibility of the second without any reference to the first even though the first is not declared non-existent. It will be found on ultimate analysis that the validity of morality without religion will depend upon the possibility of a sense of oughtness without religious reference. Enlightened self-interest (or prudence) and the conception of an ideal self may both be devoid of a sense of obligation: am I bound to be prudent or to realise my better nature? <sup>3</sup> Is there then an irreducible minimum of religious assumption which no moral action can dispense with? Shall we say that the call of the ideal in agnostic minds serves the same purpose as the demand of religion in devout souls? <sup>4</sup> The fact that, with the decay of faith in traditional religion, passionate pursuit of national, social and other ideals has gained in strength among the most intellectually advanced shows that human sentiments have been diverted from religion to these other channels of expression. The social instinct is thereby reinforced by subsidiary impulses of a semi-religious character: work for self-betterment and service of fellow-men replace worship of God.

But this is essentially a modern phenomenon which has been rendered possible by the development of sociological and scientific theories. Where gaps of ignorance and impotence are large and the laws of mechanical causality and evolution are imperfectly established, a wholesale rejection of Divine operation in the world is absent and impossible. Besides, a life based on mere morality without religious sanction is possible for a few intellectuals and hardly explains that craving for social cohesiveness and concord without which a large community is unthinkable and impossible. Social instincts

<sup>3</sup> Campbell, *Scepticism and Construction*, pp. 218-19, 221.

<sup>4</sup> See Ward, *The Realm of Ends*, p. 134 f.

may bring individuals together ; but it is the call of the ideal that regulates conduct and renders the continuance of the group possible. And of all ideals the religious ideal or the sense of religious obligation to be at peace with one's own neighbours and, in fact, with the whole of creation, is the most potent in bringing about the solidarity of the society and the race. We are face to face, in fact, with an essential trait—weakness, if you please—of the finite minds that their welding into a compact mass requires extraneous pressure and cannot be effected by inherent mutual attractions of the components of the social group. Of course, this adventitious condition of social cohesion has not always been supplied by an exalted conception of divinity. A set of common beliefs, rites and practices has often sufficed to keep primitive groups together, and even a tradition of common ancestry or the possession of the same totem has supplied the basis of social understanding and sympathy. As the primitive conceptions of godhead did not include elevated ethicality as a part of the connotation, it would not be true to say that religion is alone responsible for moral relations among mankind ; but moral relations, howsoever established, have almost invariably tended to be buttressed by religious bulwark of some kind in a community not uniformly and eminently intellectual in composition.

It would be a mistake to think, however, that religion is a mere offshoot of morality and that the existence of God is, as Kant said, a postulate of moral life. Men have become religious to satisfy some fundamental impulses of life or in reaction to certain constant or recurrent stimuli of the external world. Religion has satisfied a need which morality has never been able to fulfil and it has often persisted where moral aberrations of a most pronounced type have taken place. Much of religious reform is often indeed ethical preaching because very often while an existing faith supplies enough incentive to devotion it fails to provide the necessary basis for higher morality or a more adequate recognition of social obligations : we have illustrated this already from the evolution of the

Jewish religion on the ethical side. But as we travel back to the ancient days we find that very often religious reformation has reference to the needs of the spirit, not on the side of practical morality but on the side of theoretical consistency and emotional satisfaction. The evolution of Hinduism at different stages of its history will afford ample illustration of religious experiments on the side of devotion and intellectual harmony. And when we talk of the needs of devotion we do not mean that they are synonymous with the needs of intellectual consistency; for by the temper, training and intellectual standing of the individual concerned are the needs of devotion determined, whereas intellectual consistency admits of only one standard and develops towards it with culture. Adapting the terminology of Wundt to our purpose, we may say that while intellectual formulations have a tendency to form a unitary whole, devotional needs fall into disparate systems. This is why, belonging to the same institutional religion, individuals tend to develop different personal religions of their own. Sects and heresies represent similar tendencies on a larger scale, and brotherhoods that cut across all communal boundaries (*e.g.* mysticism and theosophy) come into existence to establish contact between kindred spirits owing different religious allegiances, just as philosophical schools are formed on the basis of common intellectual satisfaction irrespective of religious beliefs and geographical positions. We are, however, not unmindful of the fact that religious progress has also taken in the past the form of a double advance—of a deepening of spiritual life and a widening of ethical interest: the reformation of the Arabian religion by Muhammad need alone be mentioned to show what we mean. We may also have cases of religious development on the subjective side where intellectual consistency and moral relation are already guaranteed by the existing conception of God. This will refer to the mode of worship, which we shall discuss at some length in a subsequent chapter. There is hardly any living religion in which visible or invisible changes of one or other of the above types are not going on at every moment. Like the insensible

continuous variations in living forms, postulated by Darwin, these changes are slowly modifying the character of some living faiths within the limits of possible variation; of others the character has changed or is changing by rapid strides, much in the fashion of mutations as postulated for biological species by Hugo de Vries. Where the conditions of life remain constant, cultural contact with other creeds is absent or insignificant, and intellectual progress is arrested, there is likely to be a stagnation, just as variation practically ceases among organisms withdrawn from fluctuating conditions of existence. Like living organisms, again, faiths may occasionally be obliged to hibernate or even to retrogress in order to survive and wait for better times to put forth signs of new vitality and growth.

We shall try to illustrate the above propositions by an examination of the development of the idea of God among the remaining independent religions of the cultured world, namely, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Jainism, and the three Mongolian religions of Confucianism, Taoism and Shintoism. An examination of these is instructive on one point, namely, how each had to develop or absorb in course of time theistic elements of a certain character in order to provide sufficient materials of devotion to the ordinary laity. Barring Shintoism, each had concentrated more on the ethical side than on the devotional—each was in a sense a strong man's creed, needing the intelligence and the ability to rise above the diversities of phenomenal existence to a conception of the immutable laws of the moral world. Like the earth, religion has its giddy heights; while a few hardy climbers can acclimatise themselves to the rarefied atmosphere of barren abstractions and rigid moral principles, the ordinary toilers have a suffocating sensation and a shortness of breath at that altitude and they take the earliest opportunity to avoid it by descending to lower regions. Some constitutions can stand strong doses of medicine while others can take only diluted measures: the same is the case regarding religion in a heterogeneous population out-

wardly professing the same cult. Therefore, one of the main tasks of a religious reformer is to raise the level of culture so that the necessary advancement in spiritual understanding and appreciation may follow as a matter of course. Like the microbes in a healthy body, tendencies towards primitive belief are present in the mind, and they gain the upper hand the moment the power of resistance decreases. When even an unrelenting theist like Muhammad could, in a moment of weakness, admit the intercessory power of some of the pre-Islāmic pagan gods, we can well understand why people at a lower level of spiritual or intellectual culture should be unable to attain the spiritual heights of their prophet or retain them for long. We have illustrated this in the case of Hinduism where the absolutistic monism of the Upaniṣads could not be popularised and was replaced in popular affection by one or other of the monotheistic cults (some of the later Upaniṣads, like the *Svetāśvatara*, themselves developing theistic tendencies) and even by a revived, though refined, polytheism.

A still more instructive example is furnished by Zoroastrianism, the religion of the Parsis of India and of the Gabars of Persia. From all accounts Zarathustra<sup>5</sup> was a remarkable prophet. Once convinced of the futility of his ancestral creed and religious customs, he waged a relentless war against their continuance in any shape or form. He did his work with such systematic thoroughness that it is only by a study of the later developments of his religion under Magian<sup>6</sup> and other influences that we are able to reconstruct, in the light of kindred Vedic beliefs and local survivals in clay tablets and stones, the religion of which his own was a reformation. Few religions have witnessed such remarkable vicissitudes of fortune as the creed he established, and few countries, except perhaps the north-western corner of India, have been

<sup>5</sup> For different spellings and derivations of the name, see C. de Harlez, *Introduction to the Avesta* (tr. P. A. Wadia), pp. 18-19; Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 12 f; Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 426; J. J. S. Taraporewala, *The Religion of Zarathushtra*, pp. 23-4.

<sup>6</sup> For the relation of the Magi to Zoroastrianism, see Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 6 f, and Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, Lect. VI. The Magi.

subjected to such alien rule, with religious traditions hostile to the native faith, as unhappy Iran. The religion was born under the most unlucky auspices. The date of the Prophet is still a matter of dispute among Iranian scholars as even the earliest references yield no sure guidance.<sup>7</sup> While the oldest Avestan records, namely, the Gāthās, supposed to have been composed by Zarathustra himself,<sup>8</sup> give sufficient evidence of the prophet's poverty and personal woes and the inhospitable reception of himself and his doctrine, no date of his flight or migration from his home in Western Iran<sup>9</sup> to carry out his religious mission and to seek powerful support marks a new era as in the case of Muhammad,<sup>10</sup> and even no mythical date celebrates his birth as that of Jesus.<sup>11</sup> But he left devoted Apostles and disciples behind<sup>12</sup> and he was fortunate in finding a St. John in his cousin Maidhyoi-māonha and a Constantine in Vishtāspa.<sup>13</sup> We have no means of ascertaining the full extent of his religious reformation, for the five Gāthās are all that are left of the ancient record<sup>14</sup> and even of the later Avestan texts the

<sup>7</sup> For discussion about the date of Zoroaster, see Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 14 f.; Appendix II (p. 150 f); C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 19 f; Moulton, *The Treasure of the Magi*, p. 13 f.

<sup>8</sup> Tiele adduces reasons to show that some of the Gathic verses could not have been composed by Zarathustra himself. See *The Religion of the Iranian People*, I, p. 83 f. (tr. Nariman).

<sup>9</sup> For a discussion of Zoroaster's native place and the scene of his ministry, see Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 16; Appendix IV (p. 192 f); also Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, Lect. III. The Prophet and His Reform (p. 80 f); also SBE, IV, Introduction, Chap. III, p. xlvii.

<sup>10</sup> See Jackson, *Zoroastrian Studies*, p. 19 f; *Zoroaster*, p. 42 f. An era approximately dating from B.C. 559, observed by a religious sect which immigrated into China in A.D. 600, is noticed by Anquetil du Perron.—See Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 165.

<sup>11</sup> According to tradition, Zoroaster was born on Khordadsal day which falls on the sixth day of every New Year. The old orthodox New Year's Day was usually the 21st March and therefore the birthday of Zoroaster should fall on the 26th March; but the majority of the Parsees observe their New Year sometime in September and therefore Khordadsal day falls also in September.

<sup>12</sup> The succession list comes from the Pahlavi text *Dinkart*. See Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 135 f.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37. On the identity of Vishtaspa, see E. Herzfeld, *Vishtaspa*, in *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume*, p. 182 f; Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 167, 171; Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, pp. 47, 88.

<sup>14</sup> See Haug, *Essays on the Religion of the Parsis*, p. 142 f.

full literature has not been preserved.<sup>15</sup> We find references to the division of the Iranian society into different classes;<sup>16</sup> but we do not know to what class he himself belonged;<sup>17</sup> nor exactly whether only the nobility accepted his message.<sup>18</sup> The prophet himself met with a violent death, presumably because he instigated military operations to spread his faith. It is certain that after his death his religion was not permitted to retain its purity for long and that it was not only modified by a priesthood with a different religious outlook and tradition<sup>19</sup> but also contaminated by the resurgence of earlier beliefs either in their crude form or in an altered guise. But even this impure tradition of the later Achaemenian period was broken when Alexander the Great burnt the royal library of Persepolis,<sup>20</sup> and for nearly five hundred years<sup>21</sup> only scattered fragments were all that remained of the Avestan texts. The fragmentary Sassanian collections and the added Pahlavi texts and commentaries were doomed to a similar fate when, after about four centuries of currency, they fell a victim to Arab fanaticism and probably only a fourth of the Avestan texts of the Sassanian

<sup>15</sup> See SBE, IV, Intr., Chap. III, p. xxx f., by James Darmesteter Haug, *op. cit.*, p. 131 f., 131 f.

<sup>16</sup> SBE, IV, Intr., Chap. III, p. xlviii; Moulton, *Eur. Zor.*, p. 116 f., 355. See Yacobi 32.1; 32.3. See Geiger, *Civilisation of the Eastern Iranians in Ancient Time* (tr. Sanjana), II, 61.

<sup>17</sup> Y., 32.1. In the Gāthās the classes are of priests, nobles and husbandmen; in later Avesta they are of fire-priests, charioteers, nobles, herdsmen and artisans. See Moulton, *Eur. Zor.*, pp. 91, 116-7, 355 n.2; *Treasure of the Magi* p. 11; Sachse, *The Living God*, pp. 168, 172. Zoroaster is said to belong to the house of Mammuchihar, sovereign of Iran.—Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 18.

<sup>18</sup> This is Moulton's view. See his *Eur. Zor.*, p. 60. See also his *Treasure of the Magi*, p. 11, where he states that Zarathustra probably belonged to the agricultural community. The general belief is that he belonged to the priestly class.

<sup>19</sup> Moulton lays the blame of all deviation from the spiritual religion of Zoroaster at the door of the Magi and refers in this connection to Ezekiel 8.16 f., where some pre-Zoroastrian Magian rituals are probably preserved.—See *Dic. Bib.*, IV, p. 989.

<sup>20</sup> Moulton doubts the genuineness of this tradition about Alexander's vandalism. See *Treasure of the Magi*, p. 62. But see Haug, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

<sup>21</sup> The period would be less if the Parthian king Valkhash is Volagases I (51-78 A.D.) and not Volagases III (148-191 A.D.). See *The Introduction to the Holy Gathas* by Pouré Davoud, pp. 32-3; Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 171; SBE, IV, Intr., Ch. III, p. xxxiii f. See also *Sir J. J. Madressa Jubilee Volume*, p. 10; Huart, *Ancient Persia and Iranian Civilisation*, pp. 110, 112.



period survived.<sup>22</sup> Contingents of the faithful followers of the prophet had to seek an asylum in the hospitable shores of India<sup>23</sup> and their later generations had to watch with despair the rapid dwindling in the number of their co-religionists in their native home.<sup>24</sup> If, then, like the Jews, the followers of the Iranian Prophet have been subjected to so much calamity and oppression and have yet been able to save their religion, it must be due to some inner vitality of the faith they profess. In fact, the distinctiveness of the Zoroastrian message was such that it did not escape the attention of foreign writers, and its solution of the problem of moral and spiritual life was such that Semitic monotheism had no scruple to come under the influence of, or borrow elements from, its later developments.<sup>25</sup>

What religious influences were at work in the cradle of Zoroastrianism it is difficult for us now to reconstruct and it

<sup>22</sup> Haug, *op. cit.*, p. 123 f. See, however, Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Theology*, p. 192 f. Almost all of the important Pahlavi works that we possess to-day were written under the Abbasid Caliphs (p. 193). For the list of extant Pahlavi works, see Karaka, *History of the Parsis*, II, pp. 177-8.

<sup>23</sup> See Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, pp. 182-3, for a summary of the history of Parsi emigration to India (also D. F. Karaka, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 23-52).

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 179. See ERE, art. GABAR, for a fairly full account; also Karaka, *op. cit.*, I, Ch. II.

<sup>25</sup> See Jackson, *Zoroaster*, Appendices V and VI; also Benveniste, *The Persian Religion according to the Chief Greek Texts*. For the relation between Zoroastrianism and Judaism, see Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, Lect. IX. Zarathushtra and Israel (esp. p. 318 f); Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 205 f; Mills, *Our Own Religion in Ancient Persia*, p. 26 f (summary of Iranian and Jewish parallels). Mills, while accepting the similarities, repudiates the idea of borrowing from Persian source. "In fact, I would strenuously repeat, and with emphasis, what I wrote in 1894—viz., the principle, that any, or all of the historical, doctrinal, or hortative statements recorded in the Old or the New Testament might, while fervently believed to be inspired by the Divine Power, be yet freely traced, if the facts would allow of it, to other religious systems for their mere mental initiation, —that the historical origin of particular doctrines or ideas which are expressed in the Old or the New Testament does not touch the question of their inspiration, plenary or otherwise" (p. 28). "My claim in argument is, therefore, for a very strong and completely surrounding and enveloping later and supercening influence of the North Persian One-Godism, Angelology, Immortality, Soteriology, Judgment, Resurrection, Millennium, Heaven, and Recompense, upon the same slightly earlier developments in Israel during the Captivity" (p. 49). It would be curious to know if such wide-spread parallels can be due to mere coincidence, and there is no suggestion that Persia borrowed these from Israel. For the influence of Parsism on Islam, see the paper of Goldziher in Tiele's *Religion of the Iranian People*, I (tr. Nariman), pp. 163-86.

is not possible for us to ascertain when the Iranian and Indian branches bifurcated from a common Aryan stock, whether after the separation there was any interchange of people and beliefs between India and Iran, whether an Aryan population conquered an indigenous population in Iran as in India and covered the native faith with an Aryan veneer,<sup>26</sup> and to what extent the religion of Assyria and Babylon influenced the formulation of the pre-Zoroastrian, Zoroastrian and post-Zoroastrian religions.<sup>27</sup> The fact that the later Avestan religion should revive certain elemental doctrines of the type mentioned by Herodotus in his description of the Persian religion,<sup>28</sup> and that Zarathustra should reserve his denunciations for the *daevas*-worshippers shows that it was against the Vedic type of belief and practice that he primarily directed his preaching.<sup>29</sup> So it was as an Aryan, deeply moved by the conduct and creed of fellow-Aryans, that Zarathustra spoke with bitterness. It is instructive to note that while Zarathustra thought that the best antidote against the cruel cult of sacrifice was a radical alteration in the conception of God and of the nature of worship, Buddha and Mahayana considered it essential to obviate the necessity of God altogether. The effect was that while in Zoroastrianism

<sup>26</sup> See M. B. Inan, *Iran, Zoroastrianism*, p. 51; Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 206 f; see also A. P. Meier's article on *Mitanni, Iran and India* in *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume*, p. 299, for a similar Aryan element in Mitanni. Tiele suggests a bifurcation of the common East Iranian religion into Indian and Iranian (*op. cit.*, Chs. VI and VII).

<sup>27</sup> See Meier, *Iran, Zoroastrianism*, p. 256 f; ERE, iv, 162 (seven zones of the earth). On the different theories of the sources of Zoroastrianism, see Jackson's *Religion of the Achaemenides* (tr. D. Macchiiban) in *Indo-Iranian Studies* (*Sanjani Commemorative Volume*, pp. 26-7; also in *Zor. Stu.*, p. 206 f. For the Assyrian origin of the *Fravashas*, see C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 197. For the Babylonian origin of the *Bamnash*, see Benveniste, *op. cit.*, p. 57. For the alleged influence of Judaism on Parsism (as advocated by Darmesteter), see *Die. Bib.*, IV, p. 992.

<sup>28</sup> Benveniste, *op. cit.*, pp. 11, 23, 26.

<sup>29</sup> In view of the fact that both in India and in Iran one set of powers stood for good and another for evil and that for these sets two words *Asura* and *Deva* have been used, it has been well said: "The different fortunes of the two names in India and Iran mark no conflict between the two religions, the variance was not in the creed but in the dictionary."—*Faiths of the World*, p. 113. See in this connection, K. C. Chattopadhyaya's paper on *Martin Haug's Theory of Indo-Iranian Religious Schism* in *The Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute*, No. 31, pp. 293-37.

the law of moral order (*aṣha* or *arša*) remained subordinate to God, in Buddhism and Jainism the law of Karma practically usurped the place of God, and that while in the former devotion had an assured place, in the latter systems morality and meditation were originally deemed sufficient for salvation.<sup>30</sup>

The genius of Zarathustra can be measured by the fact that while in the localities in which he lived and taught polytheism was rampant and cruel cults and nocturnal orgies passed in the name of religion,<sup>31</sup> he boldly declared the oneness of God and ascribed to Him a spiritual character with which any material form of worship could ill assort. Whence he derived the name of this spiritual God has been a matter of some discussion.<sup>32</sup> It is well-known that in the Gāthās the two separate words Ahura and Mazdāh had not coalesced into the single word Auharmazd of Pahlavi, Auramazdah of the cuneiform inscriptions of the Achaemenian dynasty<sup>33</sup> or Ormazd (or Hormuzd) of later times. They are sometimes used singly, sometimes in an inverted order and always with separate declensions; and sometimes Mazdah Ahura is even used in the plural so as to include the two most prominent personified abstractions of his system—Right (Asha) and

It is interesting to note that "the name Dānava is given both in the Vedas and Zend-Avesta to enemies with whom wars are to be waged. Compare Yt. v. 73 and Atharvaveda IV. 24.2." (Haug, *op. cit.*, p. 279.) (Darmesteter uses the word Dānus in Yasht v. 73 and refers to Yt. xiii. 37-8 where the Turanian Dānus are again mentioned.)

<sup>30</sup> For a comparison between Zoroaster and Buddha, see Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 2.

<sup>31</sup> Ys. 32.10, 14; Ys. 48.10. See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 129 (The reference is wrongly printed as Ys. 31.10 there). See also Tiele, *op. cit.*, Ch. VI; Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 31.

<sup>32</sup> See Benveniste, *op. cit.*, p. 39 f in this connection.

<sup>33</sup> See Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 171, for an explanation. See also Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 51; also p. 422 where the two exceptions in the Old Persian inscriptions are noted. For the Religion of the Achaemenides, see Jackson's paper in *Sanjana Commemoration Vol.*, p. 31 f; also his *Zor. Stu.*, p. 31; Ch. X. Religion of the Achaemenian Kings (see esp. p. 160); also SBE, IV, Int., Ch. III, p. xiv, lii f.; also Benveniste, *op. cit.*, p. 34 f.; also Casartelli, *The Philosophy of the Mazdayasniian Religion under the Sassanids*, pp. 14-7.

The word Mazdāh has been used without the diacritical mark throughout this volume.

Good Thought (Vohu Manah).<sup>34</sup> It is difficult to say what value should be assigned to Moulton's suggestion that 'for those, among whom Zarathushtra grew up, Ahura Mazda was the "clan god" of their caste, as superior to the gods of other castes as the Aryan was to the Magus or the Budian, but only "greatest of gods" after all, and that 'it would seem that Zarathushtra's first step was to rise from this higher polytheism to monotheism, from a god who was greatest of gods to a god who stood alone;' <sup>35</sup> but there is much to be said in favour of his supposition that the 'greatest of gods' (*Mathishta bagānām*) <sup>36</sup> of the Behistan inscription of Darius, used of Auramazda, is a distant echo of Zarathustrian reform <sup>37</sup> and that, therefore, the traditional date of the Prophet (660-583 B.C.) is possibly late by three to four hundred years, if not more.<sup>38</sup> The discovery of the use of Mazdaka as a proper name in Media in about 715 B.C. and of the divine name Assara Mazāsh in an Assyrian inscription of the reign of Assur-banipal indicates the existence of a cult of Ahura Mazda at an unknown antiquity—possibly in the second millennium B.C.;<sup>39</sup> but it would be risky to deduce therefrom any definite date about Zoroaster's advent and his

<sup>34</sup> Moulton, *Tr. Mag.*, p. 23; Benveniste, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

<sup>35</sup> Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, pp. 93-4. Söderblom remarks, "Nor is any prohibition of polytheism to be found in the Gathas. But the careful reader of Zarathustra's prayers and poetical sermons will never imagine a Pantheon with many gods. The monotheism of the Gathas is not exclusive like Mosaism. Other gods are not expressly forbidden. But for the Prophet they do not exist. He is entirely occupied with the power and calling of Ahura Mazda" (*op. cit.*, p. 195). Elsewhere he remarks (p. 187), "The Ahura recognised by the prophet in Mazda, the All-wise, became by his moral demands and his pure divinity not a god among gods, but God." See *ERE*. x. 320, art. **PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD** (Iranian).

<sup>36</sup> Cf. *Ys.* 16.1 (*mazishtem yazatem*); also *Ys.* 17.16.

<sup>37</sup> Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, pp. 52, 300. For an account of the Old Persian inscriptions, see Weissbach's paper on the subject in *Dr. Modi Memorial Vol.*, p. 673 f.

<sup>38</sup> Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 19; *Tr. Mag.*, p. 13. See also *Zarathustra: His Life and Doctrine* by Prof. C. Bartholomae in *Sanjana Commemoration Vol.*, p. 8. (The date given is about 900 B.C., but a still higher antiquity is hinted at.) See Jackson, *Zoroastrian Studies*, p. 17 (fn. 5); also Söderblom, *op. cit.*, p. 196; Tiele, *op. cit.*, p. 40; *Dr. Modi Memorial Vol.*, p. 543 (quotation from Geldner who suggests 14th century B.C.).

<sup>39</sup> Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 31; also M. R. Pettazzoni, *Ahura Mazda, the Knowing Lord* in *Sanjana Commemoration Vol.*, p. 149; Benveniste, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

exact relation to this religion of Ahura Mazdah. Even at a much later time we find Muhammad fixing upon the well-established name of Allāh for his unitary godhead; we may very well believe that Zarathustra followed the same method.<sup>40</sup> A temporary exaltation of an already well-known god to the supreme position is also met with in the Indian branch of the Aryan race and the Zoroastrian personification of abstract attributes and functions may be similarly matched by Vedic parallels,<sup>41</sup> although not with such monotheistic implications. It is well to remember that God has no name, and provided unworthy associations have not gathered round any particular title, it is distinctly advantageous to utilise a name already familiar to the locality or community in preference to a newly coined word that has no holy association. A modern instance would be Brāhmaism in which the Upaniṣadic term Brahman (occasionally even the Paurāṇic Hari) was chosen in a theistic sense to signify godhead. In the particular case of Zarathustra there was the added advantage that the name chosen was connotative in a spiritual sense—"the Wise (or Knowing) Lord" or "the Lord Wisdom,"<sup>42</sup> and its meaning could be spiritually deepened by further suitable associations. We have no means of judging now whether the Indo-Iranians had really two types of gods—the spiritual and moral Asuras-Ahuras and the elemental and ritualistic Devas-Daevas,<sup>43</sup> or whether the name Ahura Mazdah originally signified the sky-

It is significant that seven gods of the sky (*Igigi*) and seven gods of the underworld (*Anunnaki*) follow Assara Mazāsh in the list of Assyrian gods, dated in the middle of the seventh century B.C. (p. 422). But see Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 99: "Zarathushtra cannot be proved by any valid evidence to have created a Hexad, far less a Heptad, to have given them a collective name and to have depended either on Aryan or Babylonian hints for the invention of abstract ideas strikingly in keeping with his own characteristic thought."

<sup>40</sup> Benveniste, *op. cit.*, p. 39 f.

<sup>41</sup> For Assyrian parallels, see Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 31 and p. 422.

<sup>42</sup> For wisdom or knowledge as an attribute of God in different religions. see Pettazzoni's paper on *Ahura Mazda, the Knowing Lord*, in *Sanjana Comm.* Vol., p. 151 f.

<sup>43</sup> See Söderblom, *op. cit.*, p. 184; Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 150; also Haug, *op. cit.*, pp. 267-72, p. 301 (but his remarks are to be modified in the light of subsequent discoveries).

god like the name Dyaus Pitar and its etymological homologues in Indo-European languages.<sup>44</sup> The similarity between Ahura Mazda and the Amesha Spentas, on the one hand, and Varuna and the Ādityas, on the other, has very often been pointed out,<sup>45</sup> and the similarity is enhanced by the fact that, like the Iranian God, Varuna, the moral god *par excellence* of the Rigveda, is also called *Asura* and carries very little of elemental association about him. Similarly, the daeva-worshippers against whom Zarathustra spoke so violently—the Kavis and Karapans and the Usijs, led in Iran in Zarathustra's time by Bendva and Grēhma,<sup>46</sup> were not only well-known in Vedic religion but bore practically the same class-names; and if we subscribe to the view that Zarathustra's missionary activity started in Eastern Iran, we may not unreasonably believe that the frontiers of Vedic religion of the time almost abutted on the scenes of Zoroaster's ministry<sup>47</sup> and both opposition and absorption of local ideas are not improbable on Zarathustra's part. Later Iranian literature loved to dwell on the conversion of Hindu sages (*e.g.*, Cangrānghācah and Bīās) by Zoroaster to his own creed.<sup>48</sup> It is not improbable that Zoroaster was attracted to Eastern Iran by the report of a more advanced culture likely to be more susceptible to the spiritual glamour of his reformed creed. It is not improbable also that Iran was pervaded by

<sup>44</sup> See Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 40; also Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 61; also EKE. ix. 568, art. ORMAZD.

<sup>45</sup> Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 40, 42. See also A. B. Keith, *Mitanni, Iran and India* in *Dr. Modi Memorial Vol.*, pp. 89-91, and also Lommel, *Indo-Iranian Conceptions*, *ibid.*, p. 262; also EKE. ix. 568-9 for a discussion of the relation between Varuna and Ahura through Arunas, the Hittite sea-god. See also SBE, IV, Int., Ch. IV, pp. lviii-lxi; also Tiele, *op. cit.*, Ch. VI, for a "conspectus of the religion of the East Iranians, of the yet inseparable Indians and Iranians."

<sup>46</sup> Ys. 44.20; 32. 12-14; 49.1. See Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 43 f; Geiger, *op. cit.*, II, 49 f.

<sup>47</sup> See Söderblom, *op. cit.*, p. 229, on the discussion of this subject from the linguistic side. He remarks, "It is noteworthy, however, that among present-day Iranian dialects Afghan is the one which most clearly reveals kinship with the Avesta language." See also Tiele, *op. cit.*, p. 52. From the reference to āsurī metres in the Yajurveda, which are foreign to the Rigveda, Haug infers that the old Gāthā literature (where these metres occur) was well known to the Rishis who compiled the Yajurveda (*op. cit.*, pp. 271-2). See also Geiger, *op. cit.*, II, p. 85 f.

<sup>48</sup> See Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 84 f. Saṅkarācārya and Vyāsa are meant.

an Aryan culture in its topmost classes, and as the Boghaz-Kēui inscription, invoking, among others, Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa and the Nāsatyan (the twin Aśvins of the Veda), shows, it was probably a fashion at any rate in that land of composite cult to invoke any god, Vedic or Semitic, suitable for the purpose in question—in this particular case, the purpose of a treaty.<sup>49</sup> There is little doubt, however, that the local worshippers of the daevas were the special objects of Zoroastrian anathema and their temporal and spiritual leaders the targets of his bitter attacks.<sup>50</sup> In the absence of a fuller knowledge, however, of the ebb and flow of the Aryan population between India and Asia Minor in those far-off times the mystery of the extent of Vedic and proto-Aryan polytheism in the land of Zoroaster cannot be satisfactorily solved.

But there can be no doubt about the creed of Zarathustra himself. He was a follower of ancient traditions only in so far as he accepted a familiar name for his God; but he introduced a radical innovation into the Aryan sept in Iran by his belief that a God that comes down by heredity from our ancestors is to be deemed a dead God unless we can be personally introduced into His living presence. He paid homage not to a far-off divinity fabled in ancient scriptures but to a God to whose presence, says the later literature, the Spirit of Good Thought led him in an ecstatic trance in his thirtieth year when he was on the banks of one of the channels of the Dāityā river—the Jordan of the Zoroastrians—in

<sup>49</sup> See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, pp. 119 and 396 (quotation from Herodotus) for Persian syncretism. See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, pp. 5-7, 26, 115 for a discussion of the Boghaz-keni inscription. See also A. H. Sayce, *The Early Home of Sanskrit*, and A. B. Koith, *Mitanni, Iran and India*, in *Dr. Modi Mem. Vol.* See also Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature* (Eng. Tr.), Vol. I, p. 304 f; also Benveniste, *op. cit.*, p. 38 f.

The habit apparently persisted and the Alexandrian *Sophia* was appropriated in the *Mainyo-i Khard* and appears as *Ashno-khart* and becomes identified with the *Ashno-Khratus* of the Avesta. See Casartelli, *op. cit.*, 33 f for similarity between *Mainyo-i Khard* and the Wisdom Literature of the Jews (esp. p. 41). For similar Christian influence on *Dīnkart*, see *ibid.*, p. 42 f (esp. pp. 46-7). Vohūman is assimilated to God the Son (with some difference).

<sup>50</sup> On the identification of the daeva-worshippers, see Söderblom, *op. cit.*, p. 183 f.

Airyana Vacjah (Adarbaijan).<sup>51</sup> He felt a call to right a double spiritual wrong—a debased religion and a cruel worship, and felt too that with Divine aid he would be able to use effectively his native gift of eloquent speech to convert others.<sup>52</sup> Had he not been ordained for this work 'in the beginning'?<sup>53</sup> Would not the Lord confirm his own conviction by a vision<sup>54</sup> and assure him of the earthly prosperity and blissful immortality of those who, like him, would follow the path of righteousness and piety, and of the earthly discomfiture and never-ending or long-drawn agony in the other world of those who would follow the Lie (Druj or Drauga) in their belief and conduct?<sup>55</sup> Zarathustra sometimes gropes for a right answer to some of the perplexing problems of existence<sup>56</sup> and then it blazes forth through his illuminated intellect and conscience and he closes with the triumphant note of a seer, a *raedemno* or knower, who can authoritatively declare the nature and will of God as revealed through him to guide individual belief and social conduct.<sup>57</sup> In this way Zarathustra becomes not merely a religious reformer of the ordinary type who removes the cruelties, crudities and contradictions of his ancestral faith by sheer ratiocination or philosophical reflection, but a prophet who claims to have received inspiration for his mission from on High<sup>58</sup> and whose conviction is equalled by his determination to preach the message at all costs.<sup>59</sup> With a zeal more Semitic than Aryan,

<sup>51</sup> See Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 40 f.

<sup>52</sup> Ys. 44.17; also 28.5.

<sup>53</sup> Ys. 44.11. See Söderblom, *op. cit.*, p. 193. Mythical predecessors of Zoroaster in this task of receiving revelation are Yima Khshaeta, Hōm Frāshmi and Gaya Maretan.—See *Zarathushtra and Ahuna Vairya Prayer* in *Dr. Modi Mem. Vol.*, p. 608; also *Vendidad*, 2.2; *Yasht* 13.87.

<sup>54</sup> Ys. 44.16.

<sup>55</sup> Ys. 44.18; also Ys. 29.5; 45.7, 9-11; 49. 4-5; 51.9. See also Ys. 33.1 and 48.4 in this connection for the fate of the waverers and the exactly balanced in merit and demerit.

<sup>56</sup> See Ys. 44.8-19; 48.8-11; 49.6.

<sup>57</sup> Söderblom, *op. cit.*, 197-8.

<sup>58</sup> See *Dr. Modi Mem. Vol.*, *The Spenta Mainyu in the Gathas* by S. N. Kanga, p. 236. See also Söderblom, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

<sup>59</sup> Ys. 28.4; 43.8.



the Prophet declares relentless war not only against the daevas but also against their worshippers<sup>60</sup> and calls upon temporal potentates to wage wars of aggression against the lands of false beliefs,<sup>61</sup> and himself dies, if tradition speaks the truth, a martyr to his cause when the Hyaonian (or Turanian) Arejat-aspa (Arjāsp), being defied, presumably at Zarathustra's instigation, by Vīštāspa, storms the latter's capital and, as the champion of the old faith, sacks and destroys the temple of Nūsh-Ādar and quenches the sacred fire in the blood of Zarathustra and his priests.<sup>62</sup> He has no kindly compassion or large-hearted tolerance for those whom he conceived to be in manifest error and whose ignorance of spiritual things was attended with rapacious violence towards and cruel sacrifice of harmless cattle.<sup>63</sup> He studiously avoids

<sup>60</sup> Ys. 47.4; 48.7. Casartelli points out (*op. cit.*, p. 144) that "the Eranians had no very clear notion of the spirituality of the dēvs, nor of the essential difference between human nature and that of the dēvs." "Though there are men created by the Evil Spirit, yet men become dēvs by their crimes." Bad men and those who understand neither virtue nor sin are called demi-dēvs. Demi-dēvs are also produced from the intercourse of men and demons. (*Cf.* Muslim belief about the intercourse between men and jinn). Sodomists become demons and apostates serpents (*cf.* Hindu belief in transmigration).

<sup>61</sup> Ys. 46. 4, 6; see Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 373 (fn. 4). See also Ys. 48.6. Moulton suggests that weapons were used in defensive warfare (*Tr. Mag.*, p. 47).

See Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 103, for the names of the enemies of Vīštāspa, culled from the Yashts.

Zoroastrianism followed faithfully its prophet's message of intolerance. Speaking of Zoroastrianism under the Sassanids, Casartelli remarks: "The Mazdayasnian religion was anything but tolerant. It was the only good one among several other religions; all others were bad. The Jewish, Manichaean, and Christian religions were specially condemned. . . . Speaking about the non-Aryan worshippers of demons and about the sectarians and apostates, the *Dīnkart* teaches that any communication with them is a cause of impurity. . . the conversion of an adherent of an evil religion into the good religion is permitted (Alas! this is no longer done.—See Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, pp. 367-8). . . The government must not be tolerant to apostates but "must deliver up their bodies (to torture) on account of the soul" ( *op. cit.*, pp. 174-5).

<sup>62</sup> See Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 118. For other accounts of Zoroaster's death, see Ch. X of the same book. Parsi tradition gives the name of Tūr-i Brātār-vakhsh to the murderer. See Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 127 f.

<sup>63</sup> "Did Zarathushtra eat neat-flesh, as Bartholomae and others imagine, finding support for their view in Yasna 29.7 and 48.5, according to the translation: 'Let the cattle grow fat for our nourishment?' We want to know what the prophet means by the sacrifice which is offered with due service to Ahura and Asha (Yasna 34.3). It agrees best with the whole tenor of the Gathic belief to rule cattle out of the sacrifice of Zarathushtra."—Söderblom, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

mentioning—so great in his hatred towards the cult of his contemporaries—both Haoma (Soma), the intoxicating drink, and Athravan (Atharvan), the priests associated with the fire-rites of the worshippers of the daevas (devayasnians),<sup>64</sup> and although he once calls himself a priest (*Zaotā* = Skt. *hotā*)<sup>65</sup> and refers to the offering of reverence to the sacred Fire,<sup>66</sup> it was not to the Agni of the Vedic Aryans but to Ātar, the house fire, that adoration was made,<sup>67</sup> the worship was divested of all unworthy material associations and the mind concentrated on Right (Asha),<sup>68</sup> which was regarded as coming to maturity through Fire<sup>69</sup> and Good Thought together.<sup>70</sup> A similar reticence was observed in respect of Mithra<sup>71</sup> whose cult became so wide-spread later on and who, together with Ahura Mazda and the imported goddess Anāhita, formed the Iranian Trinity from the time of the later Achaemenian kings.<sup>72</sup> This was presumably due to the fact

<sup>64</sup> See Tiele, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-4, 76-7; Söderblom, *op. cit.*, p. 181 f. In the supplement to the *Gāthā Haptanghaiti* (Ys. 40.4 in Mills's translation in SBE, XXXI, p. 291) Haoma and Athravan are mentioned together and fire-priests are said to "come from afar." See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 116. See also Geiger, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 48, 61, 80 f.

See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 71 f. He remarks, "I am inclined to suggest that the plant used for this purpose failed the people as they migrated westward out of the land where Zarathushtra preached and taught his Gathas. Later substitutes lacked the very element that made Haoma hateful to the Prophet and attractive to the reveller" (p. 73). (The same thing happened in the case of Vedic religion also. See K. C. Chattopadhyaya's paper in the *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute*, No. 31, p. 236, for references about substitution of *pūtika* or other creepers for the *soma* creeper.)

<sup>65</sup> Ys. 33.6. See also Geldner, *Zaota*, in *Sanjana Commemoration Vol.*, p. 277 f.

<sup>66</sup> Ys. 43.9.

<sup>67</sup> See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, pp. 70, 302. For distinction between Fire in Brahmanism and Fire in Zoroastrianism, see ERE. vi. 29-30, art. FIRE, FIRE-GODS.

<sup>68</sup> See Haug, *op. cit.*, p. 279 f. for parallelism between Brahmanic and Iranian sacrificial rites; see also p. 139.

Strabo gives a fairly full account of the Magian fire worship.—See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, pp. 407-9.

<sup>69</sup> See Ys. 46.7.

<sup>70</sup> See Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, pp. 197-8.

Possibly this fire-association led to Asha Vahishta being called the fairest or the most brilliant Amesha Spenta in Yasht II.7 (also Yt. III. 18 in SBE).

<sup>71</sup> See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, pp. 139, 141; Tiele, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

<sup>72</sup> See C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 163 f. (he thinks that the worship was of Iranian origin though modified by her identification with the Assyrian Mylitta). Artaxerxes

that the Mithra-worship of the time was too intimately associated with plundering hordes and murdered cattle to be safely incorporated within his own religion.<sup>73</sup> When it was revived in Iran after his death, it had lost most of its objectionable features, as an examination of the *Mihir Yasht* shows,<sup>74</sup> and could be turned to good account because of the ethical functions with which Mithra became invested through association with the all-seeing Sun.

We are now in a position to turn to the positive contribution of Zarathustra to the spiritual conception of God. Of very few prophets of antiquity is there such a chorus of appreciation by persons of alien faiths as of Zoroaster.<sup>75</sup> Even in antiquity his wisdom was far-famed and the Greeks were struck by the fact that although the Persians invoked more than one god they worshipped no images but venerated fire as a sacred symbol and avoided polluting the elements. But Zoroastrianism, as known to the foreigners, was mixed with other elements, with the effect that it was regarded as a typical ditheism with Ormazd and Ahriman dividing the entire realm of existence between them; later Zoroastrian books (like the *Vendidad*) and the Manichaean heresy are typical, if not logical, developments of the dualistic tendency latent in

Mnemon is the first of the Achaemenian kings to name any god but Mazdah, and he prays to "Auramazda, Anahita, and Mithra."—Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 239. See also Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 154. For the relation of these three deities, see Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, pp. 61-7.

The Vedic parallel is the trinity of Mitra, Varuna and Aryaman. The Assyrian triad of Ishtar (or Ramman), Sin and Shamash is supposed by some to be at the root of the Avestan and the Vedic trinity.—See *ERE.* ix. 569, art. ORMAZD.

Mithra, Rashnu and Sraosha formed also a panel of judges at the Bridge of the Separator for departed souls. They correspond to the Assyrian triad of Shamash, Kettu and Mēsharu.

For Divine Triads, see Clarke, *Ten Great Religions*, II, p. 135 f; Hopkins, *Or. and Ev. of Rel.*, Ch. XVII.

<sup>73</sup> See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, pp. 138-141.

<sup>74</sup> For summary, see Haug, *op. cit.*, p. 202. See also Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 103 f; C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 150 f.

For Mithraism, see *ERE.* viii. 752. It became a very composite cult in later times. See also Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 139.

<sup>75</sup> The curious reader will find a collection of the appreciations of the Zoroastrian religion in a compilation called *Enlightened Non-Zoroastrians on Mazdayasnism* by J. J. Motivala and B. N. Sahiar (1897-99 A.D.).

the Prophet's own teaching.<sup>76</sup> It so happened also that the extent of the Prophet's monotheism was not fully appreciated, and although his claim to have received revelations from Ahura-Mazdah was conceded,<sup>77</sup> his personified abstractions were regarded as subordinate gods<sup>78</sup> and they quickly took over the departments of nature from the elemental deities which his teaching had dethroned. The Gāthīc language had become obscure and a later literature embodying a new set of beliefs was also ascribed to Zoroaster. The Gāthās were repeated without understanding as the Vedas were in India; but the community lived the life of the later literature with its theoretically dualistic, and even practically polytheistic, scheme of thought. Modern scholarship has partially succeeded in rehabilitating the monotheism of the Prophet, and even Christian writers, who are generally biased when criticising other faiths, have been obliged to admit that the faults of the Iranian Prophet are only those of omission and not of commission as well. They have missed in the message of the Prophet the human love that reaches out to the sinner in order to redeem him<sup>79</sup> and the Divine love that is solicitous of the salvation of the sinning world and bestows grace out of proportion to personal merit.<sup>80</sup> But they have conceded practically without any reserve that his conception of the nature of God, both on the theological and on the moral side, is equalled only by that of the classical Jewish prophets and that he possessed a Semitic zeal in denouncing false gods and spreading an ethical religion. To that conception of God we may now turn.

<sup>76</sup> See Söderblom, *op. cit.*, p. 211 f.

<sup>77</sup> It appears that Zarathustra had ecstatic visions before the sacred flame. Reference may be made to Ys. 29.3 and 30.1 in Mills's translation (with notes), to Ys. 30.1 in Haug's translation. The difficulty of translating the Gāthās may be gauged when the translations of Spiegel, Haug, Mills and Moulton of these passages are compared.

For other revelations, see Jackson, *Zoroaster*, Ch. IV.

<sup>78</sup> Ys. 30.9, where Mazdah and "other Ahuras" are invoked, is likely to create difficulty about Zarathustra's monotheism.

<sup>79</sup> Ys. 47.4: "Whether one is lord of little or of much, he is to show love to the righteous, but be ill unto the Liar."

<sup>80</sup> See Moulton, *Tr. Mag.*, pp. 201-2.

Zarathustra analysed in his own mind the essential conditions of a religious and ethical life and he discovered that those conditions were: (1) a unitary God, omniscient and moral; (2) a God who does not so much require material offerings as the devotion of the heart; (3) a God in whom all untruth, deception, evil and imperfection are totally absent; (4) a God who guarantees the freedom and the individual responsibility of all finite spirits; (5) the reality of evil in physical and moral worlds and the possibility and necessity of combating it; (6) the conviction that good must somehow finally triumph; (7) faith in the ultimate blessedness of the good and the final doom of the wicked. He felt that the immutable laws of goodness and truth must somehow form part of the nature of God Himself and be intimately associated with the Divine life, and that while there was possibly a justification for the existence of evil in order to make spirits moral and to enable them to rise in perfection, there was no ground for the pessimistic belief that Evil would remain unconquered at the end, which would take away the zest from all strenuous fight on behalf of Good. We need not enter into the details of the later Zoroastrian scheme of world-cycles and the varying fortunes of Good and Evil during each period of three thousand years;<sup>81</sup> but Zoroaster could read the history of the world not as a progress towards national greatness, as the Jewish prophets generally taught, but as a cosmic progress towards the doom of evil. Again, as God was regarded as the God of the individual and not of this or that particular nation, each individual was directly accountable to Him for his actions and his personal spiritual progress.<sup>82</sup> We shall not tarry to discuss whether

<sup>81</sup> Manichaeism took over this Zoroastrian doctrine in its theory of the struggle of Light and Darkness.—See Jackson, *Researches in Manichaeism*, p. 7 f.

<sup>82</sup> This raises the important question about the function of the Saoshyant or Universal Saviour in Zoroastrianism. In the oldest texts, as Dr. Pertold points out, salvation is individual. It is only in Pahlavi literature that universal salvation through a saviour becomes an accepted creed.—See Pertold, *The Origin of the Idea of a Universal Saviour*, in *Dr. Modi Memorial Vol.*, p. 470.

Tiele points out that 'Saoshyants,' which means in the later Avesta 'saviours to come,' bears the sense of 'prophets of an anterior age or of the present' in the older texts. The other titles of the older period are 'zaotar,'

the end of the world is so predestined that only the lapse of the specified time is needed to weaken the forces of evil; for we know that in actual practice each Mazdayasnian is taught that his active endeavour on the side of Good is needed to bring about the downfall of the powers of Evil and that his refusal to range himself on the side of Ahura Mazda means prolonging the bitter conflict with the Spirit of Evil.<sup>83</sup> As Moulton observes,<sup>84</sup> 'In every other religion, outside Israel, there were demons to be propitiated by any device that terror could conceive. Zarathushtra from the first bade men "resist the devil".' There were different sorts of evil to be overcome—the demon of Bad Season (Duzyāirya) in the physical world that paralyses the activity, the demon of Anger (Āeshma) that disturbs the emotion, and the demon of falsehood (Druj) that warps the judgment of man. Although, to quote Moulton's opinion again,<sup>85</sup> there were probably many more demons believed in by the people at large—and the later Zoroastrian literature has given a goodly number of them to fear and combat,—the choice of Zarathushtra is significant inasmuch as he concentrated men's attention more on the enemies within than on the mischievous supernatural beings of an outside world. Just as the gods of earlier polytheism were ignored, so also its demons;

'ratu,' 'mathran' while 'athravan' and 'magian' belong to later times.—Tiele, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-1.

See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 242. Moulton remarks, "Saoshyant in the Gathas denoted Zarathushtra and his helpers; but as the Renovation did not come in his time, later thought had to postpone the date but kept up its connection with the Prophet" (*Tr. Mag.* p. 105). Cf. A similar Christian belief about the coming of the Kingdom of God (and the Messiah).

See also D. M. Madan, *Discourses on Iranian Literature*, p. 7 f, 29.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Hegel: "The consummation of the infinite End consists merely in setting aside the illusion as if the end was not yet accomplished. It is under this illusion that we live, and at the same time it is this illusion alone that stirs us to activity and on which our interest in the world depends." (Quoted by Ward. *The Realm of Ends*, pp. 151-2). See Moulton, *Tr. Mag.*, p. 42, on Ys. 49.10: "The merits of the pious are presented to Mazda, and when his treasury is full they ensure the coming of the kingdom."

<sup>84</sup> Ys. 30.9: "So may we be those that make the world advance!" See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, pp. 111, 127; also Ys. 48.7; see also Söderblom, *op. cit.*, pp. 209, 213-4. This is the Avestan *Frasho-kereti*, Forward-making.

<sup>85</sup> Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 130.

quite impossible to form from his teaching anything like a consistent picture: each image comes in independently to heighten a moral or spiritual conception and is then dropped."

In its original formulation the Zoroastrian theology is surprisingly simple. Ahura Mazda is prayed to for enlightenment on the problems of creation, preservation, theodicy, final destiny of the righteous and the wicked, the nature of God-vision and the right religion.<sup>92</sup> Let us summarise, in the words of Söderblom, these Gāthic questions.<sup>93</sup> "How will the 'Best World,' 'Best Existence,' i.e. paradise and eternal bliss, commence for him who gains it? Who is by creation the Father of the Right (Asha)? Who determines the path of the sun and stars? The waxing and waning of the moon? Who fixed the earth below and the heavens above that they do not fall? Who created water and plants? Who yoked swiftness to winds and clouds?" What artist created light and darkness, sleep and waking, morning, noon and night? "For whom has the pregnant, luck-bringing cow been created?" "Who created together with Dominion, Khsathra, Piety, Armaiti? Who made the son obedient to the father? Then there are questions on the consummation of the world and Daena, religion, the spiritual life, the best religion." Further questions are asked about the opposition between the Lie and Piety, the doom that awaits those that will not receive the Prophet's message, and the genuineness of the Prophet's own inspiration. It is evident that Zoroaster had no doubt that the Omniscient Lord was able to answer all his questions and that He was Himself the creator of the physical world with its laws, the moral world with its dominance over the instincts of men, and the spiritual world with its foundations in the nature of the self, its progress through active effort of man, and its consummation in

<sup>92</sup> See, for instance, Ys. 28.5; 29.1; 31.3, 14; 33.7; 34.12; 44.1-20 (the entire Gatha is a series of questions); 48.2, 8-11; 50.1; 51.4, 5, 9.

<sup>93</sup> Ys. 44; Söderblom, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

As usual, there is wide divergence in understanding Gāthic passages. Compare, for instance, Haug's translation of Ys. 44.7, 8 in his *Essays etc.*, p. 159 (with footnotes).

a separation of the righteous and the vicious in two distinct realms with opposite enjoyments.

The above principles the Prophet has embodied in a series of spiritual abstractions whose exact nature has been a matter of considerable dispute. The scene is laid, for instance, in heaven<sup>94</sup> where before a heavenly synod the oppressed soul of the ox (*Geush urvan*)<sup>95</sup> complains of the violence done to its earthly embodiments by plundering chiefs and sacrificing priests and the Ox-creator (*Geush tashan*)<sup>96</sup> asks Right that protection and provenance should be guaranteed to cattle, whereupon Ahura Mazda declares that the cattle cannot receive absolute protection, as their meat and milk are meant for men, but that they are entitled to protection from wanton cruelty and for that reason Zarathustra would be sent down to preach the necessary message with his eloquent tongue and to enlist the support of powerful patrons on their behalf. The scene now shifts and we are made to witness the beginning of moral strife when two pri-

<sup>94</sup> Ys. 29.

<sup>95</sup> Kanga in *Sir J. J. Mad. Jub. Vol.*, p. 21, says that "the *Geus Urvan* represents the mineral, vegetable and animal kingdoms only, but not the human kingdom also, as is generally supposed." See a comparison of the Gatha and the Bundahishn account there. *Geus Urvan* becomes a female spirit in *Bun Dahesh*.—See Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

According to the *Mainyo-i Khard*, *Dinkard* and *Bun Dahesh* plants and animals are developed out of the parts of the primeval ox while from Gaymart proceed men and metals.—See Casartelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 113, 118, 129-30.

<sup>96</sup> See Tiele, *op. cit.*, p. 112 f. He remarks that *Geush Tashan* belongs to the primitive folk-lore. Moulton suggests that he is a substitute for Mithra.—See *Ear. Zor.*, p. 347 (f.n.1); also p. 149. Tiele is of the same opinion.—See *op. cit.*, p. 114.

Even Yima, the son of Vivahvant and the first man, became a sinner when he gave people beef to eat to satisfy them and to make them immortal.—See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 149, for this as well as for the later Avestan theory that he yielded to lies and lost his kingly glory.

In Ys. 29.5 the Ox-creator is joined by the soul of the pregnant Cow in the prayer to Mazda to save the right-living and the cattle-tender. Tiele distinguishes between the created steer and the cow which brings good fortune and diffuses blessings. He refers to Ys. 44.20 where watering the kine is regarded as an essential condition of preparation for husbandmen. He, therefore, holds that the luck-bringing cow "is not a kind of the type of cattle but rather a mythical symbolisation of the whole material world, and, as a rule, the earth" (*op. cit.*, p. 114). See Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 44. Haug also thinks that *Gēush urvā* means the universal soul of the earth (*op. cit.*, p. 148).

For the place of the cow in Avesta, see Geiger, *op. cit.*, II, p. 119 f.



mal spirits, the Better and the Bad in thought and word and action, stand face to face with each other at the beginning of the world and the holier thus speaks to the enemy : " For us two neither thoughts, nor doctrines, nor wills, nor beliefs, nor words, nor deeds, nor consciences, nor souls agree." <sup>97</sup> The scene changes and we watch the fateful decision made by the wise and the foolish, headed respectively by Ahura Mazdah and the Lie. <sup>98</sup> " Of these twain spirits he that followed the Lie chose doing the worst things ; the holiest Spirit chose Right, he that clothes him with the massy heavens as a garment. So likewise they that are fain to please Ahura Mazdah by dutiful actions. Between these twain the demons (*daevas*) <sup>99</sup> also chose not aright, for infatuation came upon them as they took counsel together, so that they chose the Worst Thought. Then they rushed to Violence (*Aeshma*), that they might enfeeble the world of man." But by their momentous decision each party chose its own future. <sup>100</sup> " And when these twain Spirits came together in the beginning, they established Life and Not-Life ; at the last the Worst Existence shall be to the followers of the Lie, but the Best Thought to him that follows Right." The Prophet sees into the future when, through the choice of the wise path, there shall come unto the good man Dominion (*Khshathra*), Good Thought (*Vohu Manah*) and Right (*Asha*), and Piety (*Armaiti*) shall give continued life to his body and indestructibility, and by the retribution through the molten metal he shall be at the end winner over the evil ones who shall be punished, and the Lie shall be delivered into the hands of Right and at that time the Prophet shall return to act as judge (*ratu*) before Ahura Mazdah the Lord (*ahu*) to whom

<sup>97</sup> Ys. 45.2.

<sup>98</sup> Ys. 30.5; 6. See *The Two Spirits—Spenta and Angra—in the Avesta* by N. D. Khandalavala in *Indo-Iranian Studies in honour of Dastur Darab P. Sanjana* (Sanjana Commemoration Vol.), p. 213.

<sup>99</sup> The Devas are frequently called *mainyava*, spiritual, invisible, in contrast to the human followers of the Devas.—C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 202. But see Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

<sup>100</sup> Ys. 30.4. See Söderblom, *op. cit.*, p. 220; Moulton, *Tr. Mag.*, p. 27.

he will present the good works of the faithful.<sup>101</sup> The famous Parsi creed of Ahuna Vairya (Ahunvar or Honover),<sup>102</sup> to be found not in the Gāthās but in Ys. 27. 13, emphasises the fact that the weal of the individual and the triumph of Ahura are simultaneously achieved by the defeat of evil and that Zarathustra is the Prophet appointed to help and guide the poor and to act as the prophetic adviser to men

<sup>101</sup> See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, pp. 166-9.

<sup>102</sup> These are some of the translations of the Ahuna Vairya (Honover) : -

- (1) As the Ahū is excellent, so is the Ratu (one who rules) from (his) sanctity, a creator of mental goodness, and of life's actions done for Mazda; and the Kingdom (is) for Ahura, which to the poor may offer a nurturer. (Mills in SBE. A slightly different translation is given by him in ERE. i. 233).
- (2) As a heavenly lord is to be chosen, so is an earthly master (spiritual guide), for the sake of righteousness, (to be) the giver of good thoughts, of the actions of life, towards Mazda; and the dominion is for the lord (Ahura) whom he (Mazda) has given as a protector for the poor. (Haug in *Essays on the Religion of the Parsis*, p. 141—f.n. 2; also Geiger, *op. cit.*, I, p. 73).
- (3) Even as he (Zarathushtra) is the Lord for us to choose, so is he the Judge, according to the Right, he that bringeth the life-works of Good Thought unto Mazdah, and (so) the Dominion unto Ahura, even he whom they made shepherd for the poor. (Moulton, after Bartholomae, in *Ear. Zor.*, p. 161; also *Tr. Mag.*, p. 89—n. 2, p. 42).
- (4) Just-as the Ahu (Zarathushtra) (is) worthy-of-being chosen (as Prophet), so (is Zarathushtra) the Ratu on-account-of (his) righteousness-as-well. He dedicates (the excellence) of-good-mindedness (and) of-the-deeds of-the-human-existence unto Mazda, (and) (volitional) power unto Ahura, (and) whom He (Ahura Mazda) has appointed a regulator or guide for-the-drighus (men of far-reaching Asha-principle, thriving on account of good-mindedness and holiness and leading a righteous life; in other words, men spiritually strong). (K. E. Punegar, *Ahuna Vairya*, in *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume*, p. 15).
- (5) As Ahu (Ahura Mazdā or the spiritual Lord) is an independent ruler (because He rules) according to Order (*ashāt*, i.e., according to fixed laws), so should a Ratu (i.e., the temporal Lord) (rule according to fixed laws). The gift of good mind is for the work of the world for (the sake of) Mazda. He who gives (himself up) as the nourisher of the poor (or he who gives nourishment to the poor) gives kingdom to Mazda (i.e., acknowledges him as king). (J. J. Modi in *The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis*, p. 348).
- (6) The will of the Lord is the law of holiness: the riches of Vohū-Manō shall be given to him who works in this world for Mazda, and wields according to the will of Ahura the power he gave him to relieve the poor. (Darmesteter in SBE, XXIII, 23.)
- (7) Just as a Ruler (is) all-powerful (among men), so (too, is) the spiritual Teacher, even by His Asha; the gifts of Good Mind (are) for (those)

on earth <sup>103</sup> and as the advocate and judge after their death. And the Prophet himself offers on his own account the fruits of a spiritual life to Mazdah: "As an offering Zarathushtra brings the life of his own body, the choiceness of good thought, action, and speech, unto Mazdah, unto the Right, Obedience and Dominion."<sup>104</sup> He prays, further, to Ahura Mazdah and Piety and Right and Good Thought and Dominion to be merciful to him when to each man the Recompense will come.<sup>105</sup> The Prophet sums up his message in the stirring words: "Him thou should seek to exalt with prayers of piety, him that is called Mazdah Ahura for ever, for that he hath promised through his own Right and Good Thought that Welfare and Immortality shall be in his Dominion, strength and perpetuity in his house."<sup>106</sup> "By his holy Spirit and by Best Thought, deed and word, in accordance with Right, Mazdah Ahura with Dominion and Piety shall give us Welfare and Immortality."<sup>107</sup> "And this, O Mazdah, will I put in thy care within thy House, the Good Thought and the souls of the Righteous, their worship, their piety and zeal, that thou mayest guard it, O thou of mighty Dominion, with abiding power."<sup>108</sup>

working for the Lord of Life; and the strength of Ahura (is granted) unto (him) who to (his) poor (brothers) giveth help. (I. J. S. Taraporewala in *The Religion of Zarathushtra*, p. 70.)

Parsi orthodoxy would prefer the translations in which reference to Zarathustra is omitted and would not therefore accept Nos. 3 and 4 as correct translations. Without that reference there is nothing to prevent the supposition that the sacred formula is probably pre-Zoroastrian.

<sup>103</sup> It was a part of the religious duty of each individual to correct the errors of his fellow-men as Zarathustra did of his contemporaries. In later literature we have a picture of heaven after the Resurrection when all souls would arise and know each other. "The wicked shall upbraid their good friends, saying, 'Why did you not make me know the good part which you yourself chose?' And if one has not done so, he shall sit in heaven ashamed."—*Faiths of the World*, p. 135.

<sup>104</sup> Ys. 33.14.

<sup>105</sup> Ys. 33.11.

<sup>106</sup> Ys. 45.10.

<sup>107</sup> Ys. 47.1. See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 376, f.n. 5 (also p. 372, f.n. 2). This verse and Ys. 45.10 just quoted contain the names of all the Amesha Spentas (Amshaspands).

<sup>108</sup> Ys. 49.10. See Moulton, *Tr. Mag.*, p. 18.

The above will, it is hoped, suffice as a skeleton presentation of Zarathustra's philosophy of religion and conduct. Unfortunately, the Gāthās do not provide sufficient materials for clothing this skeleton with more flesh: and as all key to the historical development of the Prophet's religious consciousness is now lost, we are unable to say if the Gāthās represent a coherent theology or the successive efforts of the Prophet's soul to grapple with the problem of existence and to get a nearer and nearer view of the ultimate principle that pervades the world of matter and spirit. Matters have been complicated by the incorporation within the Prophet's own message of relics of older religious traditions, possibly even of folk-lore and popular myths.<sup>102</sup> An unsympathetic critic would be able to pounce upon contradictions in the theory of creation, in the beginning of evil, in the reality of free will, in the judgment after death, and in the final doom of Evil. Now, as a proper understanding of the nature of God is intimately related to these problems, conflicting solutions of these would affect a coherent theory of God. As a matter of fact, posterity did develop contradictory theories on the Gāthās in addition to reviving some of the older beliefs discarded or allegorised by Zarathustra. Broadly speaking, the

the Gāthās,'<sup>110</sup> and he suggests that the development of "the Lie" into an independent principle may have been due to a characteristic Magian synthesis of Babylonian, un-reformed Aryan, and other beliefs, in which an infernal power has a separate existence.<sup>111</sup> Only once in the Gāthās is the Evil Spirit called Angra,<sup>112</sup> but the stereotyping of the name Angra Mainyu belongs to the later Avesta;<sup>113</sup> and the choice of evil by the Dævas seems to suggest that they elected to abandon their allegiance to Ahura and were originally not the creations of the Evil Spirit, just as darkness no less than light owed its origin to Ahura Mazdah.<sup>114</sup> The "bilateral symmetry" of the Vendidad,<sup>115</sup> where every good creation of Ahura Mazdah is matched by a bad creation of Angra Mainyu, finds no place in the Gāthās except in the form of "Life and Not-life" of Ys. 30. 4; and, in spite of the marked dualism of matter and spirit in the Avesta, there is nowhere any attempt to allocate material existence to Angra Mainyu and to ascribe spiritual existence alone to Spenta Mainyu.<sup>116</sup> The result would have been a neglect or suppression of bodily needs and worldly interests, if not an active mortification of the flesh, from which the religion of Zoroaster is singularly free. But still the Gāthic passages bearing on the two Spirits were sufficiently ambiguous to start divergent speculations. The Prophet was probably averse to ascribing, even indirectly, the introduction of evil into the world to Ahura Mazdah; and yet at the same time he was unwilling to admit the independent existence of an evil principle eternally limiting the beneficent activity of his God, although this became an accepted belief of later times when, like Satan, Ahriman be-

<sup>110</sup> Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 126. Of course, this does not clear up the words "in the beginning" of Ys. 30.4 and "at the first beginning of the world" of Ys. 45.2. See EBE. v. 111, art. DUALISM (Iranian); but also see *Ear. Zor.*, p. 136, in this connection. See Haug, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

<sup>111</sup> Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 128.

<sup>112</sup> Ys. 45.2; possibly also 44.12. See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 135 (with footnote), p. 137 (foot-note).

<sup>113</sup> Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 136, also 425; Tiele, *op. cit.*, Ch. VI (esp. p. 136 f).

<sup>114</sup> Ys. 44.5. See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 291.

<sup>115</sup> Fargard I.

<sup>116</sup> Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 147.

came " the opponent of God, the tempter of the Savior, the foe of mankind, the author of lies, a traitor and deceiver, the arch-fiend in command of hosts of demons, and the lord of the infernal regions and of the principalities of hell." <sup>117</sup> Possibly the attractive teaching of the Lie caused infatuation among the demons and they deliberately chose evil. The Prophet could not, however, regard evil as equivalent to man's free submission to the temptations of his own lower nature nor good as his identifying himself with the promptings of his nobler self : <sup>118</sup> good and evil had in the Prophet's eye an objective basis although he did not indicate definitely whether there was a Prince of Darkness in addition to the God of Light.

But whatever be the degree of reality ascribed to the Evil by the Prophet, he had no doubt that it could not be ultimately successful against the Good. It is the optimistic belief in the ultimate victory of Ahura Mazda that has led Moulton <sup>119</sup> to repudiate the imputation of dualism to Zarathustra's own doctrine of evil although he admits that in Parsism " if we restrict ourselves to the origin of evil and its development during history past and future, we may use the term dualism fairly enough, for until the *Frashokereti* <sup>120</sup> there is a power independent of God which God cannot destroy, sharing his peculiarly divine prerogative of creation." As there is no Ahriman yet, the question of his fate naturally does not arise in the Gāthās ; it is not unlikely, however, that the Prophet

regarded the eternal persistence of Evil in any form or place as a negation of the right of Good to be alone unto eternity and that, therefore, the ultimate purification of the world by molten metal, whereby evil in all forms would be swept out of existence altogether, was a necessary part of the prophetic belief.<sup>121</sup> Immortality belongs to good life alone and the daevas that defraud men of good life make them mortal at the same time in their second life.<sup>122</sup> It is not out of compassion for sinners that Zarathustra does not prescribe an eternal Hell for Evil and its followers: it is only to uphold the dominion of the Good that he denies them eternal existence even in Hell. "The triumph of God is in this respect," says Moore,<sup>123</sup> "more complete than in Christianity, which leaves hell, with the devil and his angels and the wicked in torment for ever, an unconquered realm of evil."

But apart from the question of the final destiny of Evil on which not only the later orthodox theories but also heretical views like Manichaeism were agreed, namely, that the light of goodness would triumph in the end over the darkness of evil, the relation between Ahura Mazdah and Angra Mainyu at the beginning still remains to be discussed. Most, if not all, of the solutions suggested later on have proceeded on the assumption that Real-

<sup>121</sup> See Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 64 f, for Sassanian beliefs on this point. "At the end the Evil Spirit will be destroyed in this way that his whole creation will be separated from him, and he will remain alone, motionless, desireless, devoid of memory, a prisoner during the whole eternity. Evil will perish, but not the Evil Spirit" (*ibid.*, p. 68). But others say that the Evil Spirit will also cease to exist (*ibid.*, p. 64). See also *ibid.*, p. 54.

<sup>122</sup> Ys. 32.5.

<sup>123</sup> G. F. Moore, *His. of Rel.*, I, p. 404.

According to Manichaeism, after the final 1468 years' conflagration has recovered the last vestiges of the lost light of Heaven, "Darkness and Evil will be imprisoned in the dismal abyss to eternity."—See Jackson, *Researches in Manichaeism*, p. 16; *Dr. Modi Mem. Vol.*, p. 102; Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 64 f.

In Zamyād Yasht (Yt. 19.96) the evil-being Angra Mainyu is described as fleeing. He is also represented as hiding himself with the demons in the earth. See Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 183; also ERE. i. 237, art. AHRIMAN; C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, pp. 201-2. Casartelli points out that in a *Dinkart* passage it is stated that "not only the wicked but also the demons will be saved at the time of the end of the world," but that in another place, although the immortality of Aharman is affirmed, the destruction of the demons is upheld (*op. cit.*, p. 93). See Moulton, *Tr. Mag.*, p. 106.

ity cannot be fundamentally dual in character but that it must somehow be one. If evil is not wholly due to the free will of the finite—and Zarathustra's catalogue of human and animal woes certainly goes beyond the deserts of personal action, it must at least partially be due to objective causes and, in fact, in the last analysis even the weakness and error of the finite will may be due to the operation of an objective cause which tends to make the worse appear the better reason. Now if this objective cause is not an independent principle, it must be somehow dependent on the unitary world-ground. Evil would then be a creation of God who has need of imperfection and opposition in His scheme of the government and history of the world. Now, although Zarathustra admits that suffering as a punishment for evil thought, word and deed is divinely ordained, he is not willing to ascribe all evil to God. What he does, therefore, is to introduce a principle which would have temporary reality (and even coeval existence with God) but should not be co-eternal with God and should therefore be finally non-existent.

To save the monotheism of Zoroaster's teaching it has accordingly been pointed out that the real opposition is not between Ahura Mazdah and Angra Mainyu, but between Spenta Mainyu (Holy Spirit) and Angra Mainyu (Evil Spirit), both being subordinate to Ahura Mazdah.<sup>124</sup> Thus C. de Harlez remarks : <sup>125</sup> " Two passages in the Gāthās, it is true, seem to place them (Ahura Mazda and Anro Mainyus)

<sup>124</sup> Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 70; Ys. 43.16; 19.9. See *The Gathic Doctrine of Dualism in Sanjana Comm. Vol.*, p. 166; also Taraporewala, *op. cit.*, Ch. IV. Good and Evil. Paul the Persian in enumerating various philosophical theories mentions one view according to which God possesses contrary qualities—possibly a reference to this particular view (ERE. ix. 867; Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 1).

<sup>125</sup> C. de Harlez objects to the identification of Anro Mainyus (meaning the Spirit who overthrows, destroys) with Angra Mainyu, for *anh(as)*, from which Anro is derived, means 'to overthrow' or 'to upset,' whereas *ang*, from which Angra is derived, means 'to restrain' (which being the opposite of Spento has led to the confusion).—See *Introduction to the Avesta* (Eng. Tr.), p. 200. But Casartelli points out (*op. cit.*, p. 55 f) that both the forms are to be found in the Avesta. He points out that in the Ben-Dehesh a positive distinction is drawn between Aharman and Ganāk-mīnōi (or Ganrāk-mīnōi)—a distinction greater than that between Auharmazd and Spenāk-mīnōi (see esp. pp. 56-7).



on the same level (Ys. 30.4 ; 45.2) ; and the dualism appears unadulterated in these passages ; but everywhere else Ahura Mazda is raised far above his rival. He alone is omniscient and all powerful ; Anro Mainyus has no insight into the future ; he has a knowledge only of what he sees ; even the consequences of his own acts are beyond his ken so long as they are not explicitly developed. In the eternal darkness, his original abode, he knew neither Ahura Mazda nor his creations. Ahura Mazda created the entire visible world, Anro Mainyus can only produce vices, evils and some malevolent beings. Nowhere does the Avesta attribute to him any other power. He cannot besides take the initiative in the work of creation ; he can only imitate or do injury. The power and resources of the evil spirit are exceedingly limited." <sup>126</sup> Geldner puts the relation of Ahura Mazda, Angra Mainyu and Spenta Mainyu thus : " The Wise Lord...is the primeval spiritual being, the All-father, who was existent before ever the world arose....His guiding spirit is the Holy Spirit, which wills the good ; yet it is not free, but restricted, in this temporal epoch, by its antagonist and own twin brother, the Evil Spirit.....In the Gathas the Good Spirit of Mazdah and the Evil Spirit are the two great opposing forces in the world, and Ormazd himself is to a certain extent placed above them both. Later the Holy Spirit is made directly equivalent to Ormazd." <sup>127</sup> Haug similarly observes that the good mind which produces reality and the evil mind which originates evil are " the two moving causes in the universe, united from the beginning and therefore, called " twins." They are present everywhere ; in Ahuramazda as well as in men. These two primeval principles, if supposed to be united in Ahuramazda himself, are not called *vohu-manô* and *akem mano*, but *speñtô mainyush*, " the beneficent spirit," and *angrô mainyush*, " the hurtful spirit ".....Both are as inseparable as day and night, and though opposed to each

<sup>126</sup> C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 201. See also Yt. 3.14 17.20 ; Ys. 29.4 30.3. See in this connection West's Introduction in SBE, V (pp. lxi-lxx).

<sup>127</sup> Enc. Bri., 11th Ed., XXVIII, 1041 (quoted in Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 185).

other, are indispensable for the preservation of creation." <sup>128</sup>  
 " But in the course of time, this doctrine of the great founder was changed and corrupted, in consequence of misunderstandings and false interpretations. Spentô-mainyush was taken as a name of Ahuramazda himself, and then, of course, Angrô-mainyush, by becoming entirely separated from Ahuramazda, was regarded as the constant adversary of Ahuramazda ; thus the dualism of God and Devil arose." <sup>129</sup>  
 It appears, therefore, that it is only in relation to Ahura Mazda's creative activity that Angra Mainyu is his enemy and rival.<sup>130</sup> To put it in philosophical language, pain and evil are inseparable from the worldly process, or, as Leibniz says, absolute perfection is incompatible with finitude. To quote the apt words of Mills, " If there existed a supreme God whose power could undo the very laws of life, no evil could have been known ; but the doctrine denies that there is any such being." <sup>131</sup> Perfection of the world is not an endowment but a conquest ; when, however, the conquest is achieved, the world as the field of strife passes away and a new order of everlasting existence is ushered into being. The imperfections of the present world cast no reflection on the goodness of Ahura Mazda although they may imply an inevitable necessity in the mode of Divine activity.

The Persian solution is not so definitely committed to the absolute limitation of Divine power as some modern conceptions of a " limited God " are, for it maintains only the temporal and phenomenal reality of Evil.<sup>132</sup> But at the same time there is nothing to indicate that Evil was deliberately

<sup>128</sup> Haug, *op. cit.*, pp. 303-4. Haug refers in this connection to Ys. ix.9 and lvii. 2, which, however, have been translated differently by Mills in SBE. Similar objection to Haug's translation of Verse 21 of Hā XIX and Fourth Strophe of Hā XXX is to be found in C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

<sup>129</sup> Haug, *op. cit.*, p. 305. See also the quotation of Bartholomae's note by Moulton in *Ear. Zor.*, p. 134, f.n.1. See also Casartelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-8: Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 247 f.

<sup>130</sup> Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, pp. 69-71; Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 17, f.n.2.

<sup>131</sup> SBE, XXI, Int., p. xix.

<sup>132</sup> See Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 250 f.

created to make the world "a vale of soul-making"<sup>133</sup>—the utmost that the later tradition allowed is that if man had not agreed to fight evil, he would have been condemned to an eternal terror of Ahriman.<sup>134</sup> All that orthodoxy did was to attenuate the positive function of Ahriman—to conceive of him much as Plato conceived of Matter, namely, as a diaphanous principle that mars the good creation of God and has no power to create anything except in an imperfect form.<sup>135</sup> Still Zoroastrianism could not admit that, like the Satan of Jewish and Christian religions, modelled on its own Evil Spirit,<sup>136</sup> Ahriman was created by Ahura Mazda, that subsequently he rebelled against the latter and fell, and that, though in opposition to the good God, he was unable to create a realm of evil beings.<sup>137</sup> On account of these differences, Casartelli, after giving due weight to the opinions of Moulton and others, is constrained to remark, "There can, we think, be no doubt that all through the Zoroastrian system, from the Avesta down to the Pahlavi theologians, the evil spirit is considered as a real creator, and for this reason, even apart from

<sup>133</sup> It is stated, however, in the *Dīnkart* that "Ormazd allows Ahriman, the father of evil, to commingle with his creation for an allotted period for the experience and training of mankind" (Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 249).

<sup>134</sup> In the *Bundahishn*, which is an old Pahlavi work based on the *Dāmdat Nask*, one of the lost books of the original Avesta, there is directly indicated (in 2.9-11) a choice made by the Fravashis—those pre-existing spiritual counterparts, or guardian geniuses, who were the celestial prototypes of material creations afterward produced—to leave for a time their heavenly state and assume a bodily existence on earth, in order to overcome finally the opposition of Ahriman and 'become perfect and immortal in the future existence, for ever and ever-lasting.'—Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 227. See C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-4, and Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 84, for the passage in question. See also Söderblom, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

<sup>135</sup> The analogy is not to be pushed too far, for Ahriman was not the material cause of the world and materiality was not an evil in Persian religion. At the same time he was the creator of a whole system of evil principles and powers independently of Ahura Mazda while Platonic Matter is not independently creative although it has the capacity of marring the creation of the Good.

<sup>136</sup> See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, pp. 305, 325.

<sup>137</sup> ERE. v. 112. See Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 231, for the arguments of *Skhand Vīmānīk Vichār*, a dualistic work. The theory of Ahriman being a reprobate angel who revolted against Ormazd, propounded at a later time, was obviously an imitation of Christian thought. (See Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 301.)

the question of his origin, the system may justly be termed dualistic." <sup>135</sup>

It is indeed true that at least one Iranian sect, the Gayomarthians, taught that the Evil Spirit proceeded from the Good Spirit by generation or creation—that the Evil Spirit was produced by an evil or doubting thought in the mind of Yazdan the Good Spirit <sup>139</sup> as to the kind of being his rival (if such existed) would be: but they took no trouble to explain how any doubt or evil thought could cross the mind of the Good Spirit at all. Their speculation or fancy would practically involve the assumption of a latent dark aspect in the Divine nature with which some of the post-Kantian thinkers of Germany have familiarised us. The process of the world would commence with the breaking away of the irrational or bad from the rational or good aspect of God and would end with the final overtaking and absorption of the former by the latter. Unlike the speculative dualism sketched above, this theory would not prove evil to be a necessary complement to Divine beneficence in creation, although its theological monotheism would perhaps be assured by its theory of the creation or generation of evil from within the Divine nature. It is doubtful, however, if the necessary positing of Evil in the creation process is a worse solution than an involuntary emission of Evil out of the Divine Mind, and the comparative insignificance of the Gayomarthian sect proves that its solution of the relation of Ahura Mazdah and Ahriman was not much superior to the orthodox dualism in popular estimation.

<sup>135</sup> ERE. v. 111. Jackson expresses a similar view: "We may believe that dualism in its characteristic Persian form and especially in its moral and ethical aspects was first taught by Zoroaster himself" (*Zor. Stu.*, p. 30). Haug characterises Zoroaster's theology as monotheism and his speculative philosophy as dualism (*op. cit.*, p. 303; see also Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, pp. 33, 70).

<sup>139</sup> ERE. v. 112; xi. 317; Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 34; Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 301; Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 52. Cf. the origin of Kālī out of Ambikā's anger in *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*, Ch. LXXXVII.

The word is derived from *Gayamartan* (Pahlavi *Gayamart*), the primeval man (the first legendary king in Firdusi's *Shāh-nāmā*), from whom Ahura Mazdah created "the race of all Arian regions, the seed of all Arian lands."—See Geiger: *op. cit.*, I, p. 3; ERE. i.205; xii. 865.

We may very well believe that popular thought divided itself into two opposite camps. There were those who failed to see the utility of drawing any distinction between Ahura Mazda and Spenta Mainyu and gradually identified the two. It was probably felt that while there was some justification for according some sort of independence to evil there was none whatsoever in the case of the good spirit. Spenta Mainyu had always been distinguished from the Amesha Spentas<sup>140</sup> but its nature was not precisely fixed in the Gāthic literature. Moulton has pointed out how strikingly similar is Spenta Mainyu to the " Spirit of Yahweh " in the Old Testament : " there is the same combination of distinctness and identity, the same stress upon spirituality." <sup>141</sup> Jackson has similarly pointed out the resemblance between Ahura Mazda and his Holy Spirit, on the one hand, and the Father and the Holy Ghost in the New Testament, on the other : sometimes they are treated as two distinctly separate beings and sometimes as practically identical.<sup>142</sup> We have no means of ascertaining whether the Amesha Spentas were meant to replace the plurality of gods, and Ahura Mazda and Spenta Mainyu any of the prominent dual divinities in the polytheism of the time (just as the trinity of Ahura Mazda, Mithra and Anāhita was formed later on probably in imitation of similar Holy Triads). But while Zarathustra had probably no objection against recognising the existence of maleficent demons, the daevas, by the side of Ahura Mazda, he could not admit the existence of other beneficent gods who might share with Ahura Mazda the homage of men. We should remember that although the names are to be found in the Gāthās, the Amesha Spentas do not figure as a group of independent archangels before the Gāthā Haptanghaiti, of which the authorship has been ascribed to the followers of the Prophet ; <sup>143</sup> and as

<sup>140</sup> In Ys. 33.6 Spenta Mainyu replaces Vohu Manah.—See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 111.

<sup>141</sup> Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 299.

<sup>142</sup> Quoted by Dhalla in *Zor. Th.*, p. 24. See *Dr. Modi Mem. Vol.*, pp. 227, 229.

<sup>143</sup> Haug, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

Spenta Mainyu did not attain the status of an archangel in this Gāthā, or even later when the Amshaspands were invested with material domains in addition to spiritual ones, it shows that possibly the tradition of the inseparability of Ahura Mazda and his holy spirit was too well established to be abandoned or modified. In fact, in many a Gāthic passage, e.g., in Ys. 33.12, 43.2, 44.7, 47 (most of the verses), 51.7, the holy spirit is one of the divine attributes of Ahura Mazda;<sup>144</sup> and those who saw the illogicality of dissociating a being from its essential attribute naturally refused to continue the distinction between the two and thus ultimately Ahura Mazda and Spenta Mainyu ceased to be distinguished as different principles. But while this saved an inner disruption of the divine nature, it accentuated the duality of Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu, for there was no longer any shadowy Spenta Mainyu to represent Ahura Mazda in his struggles with Angra Mainyu. And Angra Mainyu, because of the evil connotation, could not be funded back to Ahura Mazda as one of his attributes.

Thus the philosophical dualism which was introduced to explain the conflicts of moral life and spiritual conduct hardened into a theological dualism or ditheism under which name the Zoroastrian religion is generally known.<sup>145</sup> The Persian love of symmetry, which was responsible for matching every attribute, attendant, dominion or act of Ahura Mazda with a similar one of opposite quality belonging to Ahriman, tended in the long run to divide the whole realm of being between the two and to invest them with equal existence and involve them in an eternal conflict.<sup>146</sup> True, the final victory of Ahura Mazda did not disappear from view; but Ahriman was no longer subordinated to his beneficent rival. This dualism with its bearing upon practical life was fully elaborated by the heretic Mānī early in the third century of the Christian era.<sup>147</sup> The Father God of Light and the Overlord of Darkness at first ruled respectively

<sup>144</sup> See Pour Davoud, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

<sup>145</sup> See Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 4 (with the Translator's footnote); p. 50 f.

<sup>146</sup> Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 220; *Tr. Mag.*, pp. 64, 108.

<sup>147</sup> See Jackson, *Researches in Manichaeism*, pp. 8-16; *Zor. Stu.*, p. 187 f.

over the upper regions of light and the nether regions of darkness and the boundaries of these met at a veritable No-Man's Land, called the Border, the invasion of which by the powers of Darkness started the fateful conflict of the second period of the world's history. The Father of Light, one of whose designations is Zervan or Eternal Time, "evokes" a number of spiritual beings in succession and succeeds in recovering the light, which the Principle of Darkness had imprisoned, with the active co-operation of the faithful after the fourth evocation had ushered in Jesus to awaken Adam from the lethargy which involved sleep and death. When Darkness and Evil will be imprisoned in the dismal abyss to eternity, the Third Time will usher in the eternal dominion of Light with its lost elements completely recovered. But for the fact that Mānī taught the utter badness of matter and regarded family life with unfeigned disfavour, he would not have had to fall a victim to Zoroastrian persecution, for at the time that he preached his doctrines Zoroastrianism itself had become radically dualistic with Ormazd and Ahriman conceived to be in direct opposition to each other from the beginning of time as persons and not as abstractions or hypos-tases.<sup>148</sup> The murder of Mazdak<sup>149</sup> about 250 years after the martyrdom of Mānī was also for a similar attack upon the family institution in addition to the preaching of socialistic and communistic ideas.<sup>150</sup> But by that time the Sassanian revival had given a new turn to the religious thought of Iran.

The dualistic philosophy and the monotheistic theology in both of which Ormazd could figure were felt to be an incongruity by a sect which had a fairly long history. The interest of the Zervanites was not so much religious as philosophical and, except in the official edict of Mihr Narseh, the prime minister of Yazdigird II, which affirmed that Zervan<sup>151</sup> existed before heaven and earth and begot two sons,

<sup>148</sup> See the quotation from Eznig of Goghyp in *Indo-Iranian Studies* (*Sanjana Comm. Vol.*), p. 186.

<sup>149</sup> See *Two Versions of the History of Mazdak* by Arthur Christensen in *Dr. Modi Mem. Vol.*, p. 321 f.

<sup>150</sup> Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 176.

<sup>151</sup> The two other spellings are Zarvan and Zrvan, but, as usual, foreign spellings are different.—See *The Zarcanite System* in *Sanjana Comm. Vol.*, p. 65.





It does not appear, however, that the monotheistic solution of Zervanism was very fruitful either from the religious or even from the philosophical point of view. We have no means of ascertaining whether Zarathustra was familiar with the philosophy that left the determination of all things to Time, conceived not merely as a formal principle but also as a principle of causation; his use of the word 'Twins' in respect of Ahura Mazdah and Ahriman in Ys. 30.3 possibly did not have the implication of their being in the same womb of Time as later mythology suggested.<sup>156</sup> But if Zervan can be traced back to the Achaemenian period at least up to the 4th century B.C.—and literary and archaeological remains would probably warrant it,<sup>157</sup> then it is not an improbable suggestion that the concept comes down from a still remoter antiquity and that the Zarathustrian reform, in spite of its partiality for personified abstractions, deliberately set aside the abstract concept of Time as too impersonal and intractable for religious purposes.<sup>158</sup> If, on the other hand, the concept was devised later to overcome the dualism of Zoroastrianism itself, the Zervanite reaction is one of the earliest attempts to overcome the difficulties of a dualistic philosophy. We may in the latter case very well suppose that the mythological account was designed for popular understanding and edification at a time when the other personified abstractions of the Zoroastrian religion were being similarly clothed with flesh and blood in the manner of the pagan deities whom the Zoroastrian reform had superseded.

the righteous who need no mediation to obtain heaven." (*Op. cit.*, p. 79.) See Huart, *Ancient Persia and Iranian Civilisation*, pp. 84-5.

<sup>156</sup> Moulton, *Tr. Mag.*, pp. 26, 287. For the Zarvanites, see Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 203.

<sup>157</sup> Damascius (5th century A.D.) quotes from Eudemos of Rhodes (*circa* 300 B.C.) and Plutarch professes to follow Theopompus (*circa* 400 B.C.) in his reference to Zervan. The epitaph of Antiochus I (100 B. C.) also refers to Endless Time.—See *Sanjana Comm. Vol.*, pp. 66, 76; Benveniste, *op. cit.*, p. 78. For other references, see *Sanjana Comm. Vol.*, pp. 61-81; Benveniste, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-94, 100-117.

<sup>158</sup> Benveniste, *op. cit.*, p. 114 (Zervanism is pre-Zoroastrian); Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 9 (it could not be much posterior to the Mazdayasnian Dualism).

That Time brings into existence all things and in due course destroys them again—that it is both a creator and a devourer, is such an obvious phenomenon that a philosophy based on the omnipotence of time can hardly be expected to be a unique discovery. Both in Greece and in India—in the one in the myth of Kronos devouring his own children and in the other in the theory that Kāla (Time) creates, matures and destroys all things, we have similar religious and philosophical ideas; and the similarity with Greek thought did not escape the notice of some of the foreign writers who came across the Zervanite account.<sup>159</sup> But it seems that there was some difference of opinion about the exact nature of Zervan Akarana. The *Mainyo-i Khard* describes him thus: <sup>160</sup> “He is imperishable and immortal; he is without grief, without hunger, without thirst, without affliction, ever living, sempiternal, whom no one can stay, nor remove his control from his affairs.” The religiously inclined would naturally regard Zervan as a personal being: <sup>161</sup> in a later tradition even a wife has been ascribed to him.<sup>162</sup> The impersonal Absolute (Brahman) would naturally be congenial only to the Indian soil where the cognitive aspect was emphasised at the cost of the conative and where practices calculated to bring about the disappearance of the finite body by rigorous asceticism and celibacy and of the finite self by meditational absorption would tend to diminish the importance of personality as an indispensable condition of spirituality. But in Iran, where life was strenuous, the ideal of a householder’s life had a strong hold upon the mind of the people and belief in personal immortality (probably in a risen body) was an integral part of life’s philosophy, an impersonal God could not prove satisfying. It is only in India, among contemporary Parsi

<sup>159</sup> E.g., Moses of Chorene and the pseudo-Agathangelos (both of the 5th century).—See *Sanjana Comm. Vol.*, pp. 69-70.

<sup>160</sup> viii. 9 (quoted in ERE. ix. 867); Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>161</sup> Moulton, *Tr. Mag.*, p. 190; Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 365.

<sup>162</sup> *Sanjana Comm. Vol.*, pp. 64, 68. In Manichaeism the first evocation by the Father God of Light (Zervan) includes the Mother of Life but not as a wife of Zervan.—See Jackson, *Researches in Manichaeism*, p. 9.

For this habit of ascribing wives to personifications, see ERE. ii. 38, art. ARYAN RELIGION.

Theosophists, that Zervan Akarana figures as an impersonal principle in the manner of Brahman and merging in the Universal, as taught in Śaṅkara-Vedānta, has become a part of the creed.<sup>163</sup>

But even the Zervanites of ancient times were not always interested in their First Principle in a religious way. Except in a mythology, Time is difficult to conceive in a personal way, and so what happened was that Zervan became identified with certain impalpable and impersonal principles. Orthodoxy itself drew a distinction between certain independent and uncreate beings and those that are created and contingent. To the former class belonged Time, Space, Light and Destiny,<sup>164</sup> which provided, as it were, the theatre of operation of the two contending Spirits and the law of its consummation. Regarded thus, Time and Space would be principles in which creation takes place. Light and Darkness would constitute eternal abodes and modes of manifestation of Ormazd and Ahriman respectively. Fate or Destiny would be the law that controls the future of Good and Evil. Zervan, we may believe, was latterly conceived not only as resolving the dualism of Ormazd and Ahriman but also as unifying these four impersonal principles. Darmesteter has suggested that these four are phases of the original idea of the sky-god; we find, however, that they were all associated with Zervan by native and foreign writers<sup>165</sup> at some time or other, and thus Space,<sup>166</sup> Destiny and Light as also Time came to be signified by Zervan in Zervanism, Manichaeism and even Zoroastrianism

<sup>163</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 364. It appears that 18th century Dasturs who assisted Anquetil du Perron in translating the Vendidad thought Zervanism to be orthodox.—See *Sanjana Comm. Vol.*, p. 79; see also West, SBE, V, Int., p. lxx.

<sup>164</sup> Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 34; C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, pp. 130, 132; Casartelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>165</sup> By Damascius and Theodore of Mopsuestia.—See *Sanjana Comm. Vol.*, pp. 66-7. For Iranian references, see *ibid.*, pp. 74-6.

In Vendidad xix. 44 and Sīrōzah 21 Sovereign Heaven and Boundless Time occur together. See ERE. ix. 867; Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, pp. 32, 34; Benveniste, *op. cit.*, p. 97 (the identity of Ormazd with heaven is transferred from the identity of Zrvan with the starry sky); also Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

<sup>166</sup> *Thwāsha* (infinite space) as distinguished from *Āsmān* (created heaven).—See Casartelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

itself. The development of Zervanism into a kind of Fatalism must have been unpopular with the large body of Mazdayasnians who had been taught by their Prophet to redeem the world and to be the architects of their own fate.<sup>167</sup> This, together with the very vacuous nature of Zervan conceived as Space or Light or Destiny, must have been responsible for the limited religious use of the concept in orthodox literature: <sup>168</sup> in fact, although occasionally Boundless Time is invoked as a spirit, it is sometimes distinguished from Destiny <sup>169</sup> and associated more frequently with heaven.<sup>170</sup> Orthodoxy did not abandon the concept of Boundless Time, for it was Gāthic in origin. What it did in Sassanian times was to regard it as a co-eternal attribute of Ahura Mazdah and neither his creator nor his creature.<sup>171</sup> But though Zervanism was gradually discredited both as a philosophical solution and as a religious system (somewhat pantheistic in its implications) many of its features

<sup>167</sup> It has been pointed out that references to Fate are rare in orthodox Zoroastrianism, the most notable ones being Yt. 8.23, Vd. 5.8 and 21.1.—See *Sanjana Comm. Vol.*, p. 77. For references to later literature, see ERE. v. 792, art. FATE; Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, pp. 154, 205.

In the Pahlavi *Dinkard* occurs the interesting passage (3 174.2) that "in the rest of the world-creation there are not such lords of their own will as the lord man, except God even alone." See, however, Tansar's letter, quoted in Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, pp. 242-3: "The wise man should take the middle way between choice and predestination and not be satisfied with one. For the reason that predestination and choice are two bales of a traveler's goods on the back of his animal. . . If the two bales are equal, the traveler will suffer no embarrassment, his animal will be comfortable, and he will arrive at his destination."

For the whole subject, see Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, Part II. The Zoroastrian Doctrine of the Freedom of the Will; also ERE. v. 792; ix. 869; also Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>168</sup> The *Shāhnāmeh* uses it in the sense of Destiny, this being congenial to the predestinarian belief of its Muhammadan author.—See C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

<sup>169</sup> C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 131; ERE. ix. 867 (quoting *Mainog-i-Kreṇ*); Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

<sup>170</sup> See Vd. xix. 44; Sirozah I. 21; II. 21; Nyayish I. 8; see also Ys. 72.10. See *Sanjana Comm. Vol.*, p. 65. Casartelli suggests that Zervan might have been understood by some as 'a vast chaos, an infinite pre-existing matter' (ERE. ix. 867; also *op. cit.*, p. 7).

<sup>171</sup> ERE. ix. 867; Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 10. In the *Zātsparam*, i. 24, Ahura Mazdah is the creator of Time (see ERE. v. 792). See West's Int., SBF, V, p. lxx.

passed over into the orthodoxy of later times.<sup>172</sup> Possibly also it was felt that referring both good and evil to Zervan Akarana did not remove the difficulty of conceiving contradictory functions in the Ultimate Principle while at the same time it reduced Ahura Mazda to a mere demiurge whose own destruction was necessarily implied in his created nature. Apparently, the strength of mind necessary to declare even Īśvara (God) as temporary, Heaven and Earth as equally destined to pass away, and finite spirits as illusory and impermanent in nature belonged not to theistic Iran but to pantheistic India where polytheism had accustomed men's minds not to feel the want of a Supreme God and theogonic speculations had besides familiarised the idea of transitory gods—of gods that are born and gods that pass away in successive aeons of time.<sup>173</sup>

Paradoxically enough, the future of Zoroastrianism belonged not to the monotheistic but to the polytheistic tendencies of Zarathustra's message. We may very well believe that the Prophet's intolerant utterances<sup>174</sup> were followed with some amount of literalness by royal patrons in power except where, as in the case of the Achaemenian kings, political diplomacy or personal lukewarmness prompted the extension of the pantheon or reverence towards foreign gods.<sup>175</sup> The Prophet had to contend against various inferior types of contemporary belief and practice, the nature of which can be inferred with some amount of certainty not only by studying the Vedic religion but also from the later developments of his own message. Not only were the powers of nature (fire, water, air, etc.) and the shining orbs of heaven worshipped, but departed spirits also received periodic homage from their descendants and the powers of darkness were suitably appeased or exorcised in

<sup>172</sup> Casartelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-4: "These Zervanists were anything but a small peculiar sect and they probably formed the most considerable part of the Mazdayasnians for a certain number of centuries."

<sup>173</sup> See ERE. i. 201, art. AGES OF THE WORLD (Indian).

<sup>174</sup> Ys. 46.18; 48.5, 7.

<sup>175</sup> Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, pp. 30-55 (esp. pp. 53-5); ERE. i. 69 f., art. ACHAEMENIANS; Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 78.

inferior cults.<sup>176</sup> Personification of certain pervasive principles like Time, Space, etc., and of certain attributes and functions had also possibly taken place among the more philosophically inclined in Iran as in Vedic India; but, as in India again, the efficacy of sacred formulae in driving away evil spirits—possibly also in ensuring the help of benign powers, was believed in. Possibly, as in Vedic India, sacrifices were offered in the open on improvised altars or, as in Canaan, on hill-tops,<sup>177</sup> and special classes specialised in priestly functions. The produce of the flock and the dairy was possibly the main ingredient of worship and it is likely that a certain amount of cruelty and drunkenness attended sacrificial rites.

The Zarathustrian reform was primarily intended to establish the supremacy of One God and that not as a personification but as an ethical personality. Schrader well puts the distinction between the two:<sup>178</sup> "The characteristic mark of a *personal god* is that he is regarded as exercising influence outside of the sphere to which he owes his conceptual origin and his name. *Personification*, however, means, at first, simply the substitution of a human figure for the divine *anima* present in the phenomenon." Ahura Mazda is not a departmental deity like the Sun, the Moon, the Wind or the Waters; he is the One God who rules over all departments alike, both physical and moral, but who is not responsible for the evils of the world except those perhaps that are meant as punishment for sin.<sup>179</sup> A passage like the following could be quite in the spirit of Zoroaster, even if not

<sup>176</sup> We have it from Plutarch that Zoroaster taught the Persians to offer to Horomazes (Ormazd) offerings of vows and thanksgiving and to Areimanious (Ahriman) offerings for averting ill and things of gloom. This would go against all Mazdaean religion, as Benveniste points out (p. 73). This can apply only to Zervanism (p. 76) and Mithraism (p. 74).—See Benveniste, *op. cit.*, p. 69 f.

<sup>177</sup> We know that at least in the Achaemenian times there were *āyadanās* (houses of god), for Darius speaks of the places of worship that Gaumata the Magian had destroyed.—See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, pp. 52-3; Jackson, *Zor. St.*, pp. 195-6. See Huart, *op. cit.*, pp. 81, 94, 95; also p. 49, f.n.l., where the temples are supposed to belong to peoples conquered by the Persians.

<sup>178</sup> ERE. ii. 38, art. ARYAN RELIGION.

<sup>179</sup> See ERE. i. 71. Contrast Isaiah 45.7: "I form the light, and create darkness; I make peace, and create evil." But see Ys. 44.5.

actually composed by him : <sup>180</sup> " Here praise we Ahura Mazdah, who created both kine and holiness, and created waters, created both good trees and light, both the earth and all good things." He himself conceives of Ahura Mazdah as the First and the Last, as one who in the beginning filled the blessed worlds with light and created Right as well as men and other things and will at the end judge the actions of life, whether done in the open or in secret.<sup>181</sup> By virtue of his absolute overlordship he will give a perpetuity of communion with Welfare and Immortality and Right with Dominion, with Good Thought, to him that in Spirit and in action is his friend.<sup>182</sup> He is holy, for he has eternally decreed that actions and words shall have their meed—evil for the evil, a good destiny for the good.<sup>183</sup> The Prophet exhorts his hearers to acknowledge their allegiance to Ahura Mazdah by their devotion and practical conduct.<sup>184</sup>

" Him thou shouldst seek to bring to us by praises of worship. "Now have I seen it with mine eye, that which is of the good spirit and of (good) action and word, knowing by Right Mazdah Ahura." May we offer him homage in the House of Song!

"Him thou shouldst seek to propitiate for us together with Good Thought, who at his will maketh us weal and woe. May Mazdah Ahura by his Dominion bring us to work, for prospering our beasts and our men, so that we may through Right have familiarity with Good Thought.

As a specimen of the arguments by means of which Ahura Mazdah's responsibility for the creation of evil is established, we may quote Haug's translation of Ys. 48.4 : " He who created, by means of his wisdom, the good and evil mind in thinking, words and deeds, rewards his obedient followers with prosperity. Art 'Thou (Mazda) not he, in whom the final cause of both intellects (good and evil) exists?" (*Op. cit.*, p. 167, with n. 2.) Here is Moulton's translation of the same passage : " Whose, O Mazdah, makes his thought now better, now worse, and likewise his self by action and by word, and follows his own inclinations, wishes and choices, he shall in thy purpose be in a separate place at the last " (*Eur. Zor.*, p. 378).

<sup>180</sup> Ys. 37.1. See ERE. i. 71 for similar expressions in the texts of the Achaemenian kings.

<sup>181</sup> Ys. 30.7-9, 11, 13; see also Ys. 44.3-7; 47.1-3.

<sup>182</sup> Ys. 31.21; see also Ys. 33.11, 12.

<sup>183</sup> Ys. 43.5; 51.6.

<sup>184</sup> Ys. 45.8-10.

“Him thou shouldst seek to exalt with prayers of Piety, him that is called Mazdah Ahura for ever, for that he hath promised through his own Right and Good Thought that Welfare and Immortality shall be in his Dominion, strength and perpetuity in his house.”

We may very well believe that the Zoroastrian reform was intended not only to draw men's minds away from their many gods but also to emphasise the fact that God is wholly beneficent. Men must thank themselves if by choosing the evil path they separate themselves from righteousness and meet their doom at the Bridge of the Separator. God, whose association with Right or Justice is inseparable, is relentless towards the individual sinner although His Beneficence or Mercy is manifested when at the renovation of the world the realm of suffering souls is also purified by molten metal and He reigns supreme over entire existence. This position curiously resembles the Hindu view that although according to the law of Karma no individual can escape the re-incarnation he has deserved by his sin, yet the merciful Lord periodically dissolves the world at the end of a cycle (*kalpa*) in order to give temporary respite from the round of rebirths to all suffering souls. The Parsi religion did not, however, provide for the return of the sinner to expiate the sins of a previous life nor for intercession on his behalf, immediately after his death or at periodic intervals, to speed his soul on to the realm of Ahura.<sup>165</sup> So far Moulton is probably right. whatever might be the value of his strictures on the inclination of a section of the modern Parsis who follow Hindu beliefs about transmigration instead of the Christian belief in the continuity of the departed soul in another realm under a merciful God who is able and willing to absolve a progressing soul from the bondage of evil by His own grace.<sup>166</sup> But, as has been pointed out so often before, in such matters strict logic can very



seldom be consistently maintained in any community, and it would not be difficult to show that the pious Zoroastrian also cherishes the belief that Ahura can and does hear prayers and is merciful to the sinning soul that repents,<sup>187</sup> and that other helpers are also available to give warning and to save the unwary soul from false steps and ultimate damnation. The *Mainyo-i Khard* distinguishes, for instance, divine Providence (*baghobakht*) and Destiny (*bakht*) as that which is bestowed as the result of prayer and good action and that which is ordained from the very beginning.<sup>188</sup> Divine beneficence would be incomplete without a merciful consideration of the weakness of the human soul and the many temptations by which it is assailed from all directions. God must either strengthen the power of resistance or give fresh opportunities or send timely warning or

personal continuity which we must regard as essential. The other (transfiguration) preserves this, but transfers it to an unseen world difficult to realise."

The Bun-Dehesh pictures the interval between death and Renovation as follows :—

"On the death of a man the soul is separated from the body which is then mingled with the dust. If the souls, as they are in heaven and hell, still possess bodies, they are rather fantastic bodies made expressly for their stay in these places of reward and punishment, because it is only at the time of the *frashkērēto* that the bodies will rise up from the dust. Though the elements of the bodies will be then dispersed by wind and water, yet Auharmazd will gather them up as easily as he has formed them in the womb of the mother."

The Dinkard adds that "if the body will be punished, it will be on account of the sins of the soul."—See Casartelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-7 (also p. 29).

<sup>187</sup> See Ys. 51.4 : "Where is the recompense for wrong to be found, where pardon for the same?" See also Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 24 : "Strict are his laws and stern is his judgment. Yet he is not the indiscriminate dispenser of doom to erring humanity. His is the justice tempered with mercy, for mercy and grace abound in his divine kingdom." See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 152.

For later beliefs, see Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, pp. 222, 224, 292-3; also Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

<sup>188</sup> Casartelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-3. ERE. v. 792 quotes Visparad vii. 3 in this connection.

"Pahlavi books depict a treasure-house where works of supererogation were stored for the benefit of those whose credit was inadequate. The idea makes the genuine Hamistakān impossible."—Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 162. See Pavry, *The Zoroastrian Doctrine of a Future Life*, pp. 101-2. See also Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 196 (Translator's footnote). The prayer for all is repeated in the Prefatory liturgy of the Afringan ceremony and is referred to by Herodotus.—See Modi *The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis*, p. 382.

annul the consequences of sinful acts or relent after sufficient punishment has been inflicted. Zoroastrianism, like some other religions, has viewed with disfavour the conception of an eternal hell as being incompatible with Divine omnipotence and beneficence alike; but, as Moulton points out, the thought of an eternal "House of the Lie" is not entirely absent in the Gāthās<sup>189</sup> where Divine justice and hatred of wrong are such prominent features.

It is the Zoroastrian conception of the Amesha Spentas (the Immortal Holy Ones), however, that was destined to have a far more interesting history. The term stands for a collection of six divine spirits which appears for the first time as early as the Gāthā Haptanghaiti and could not have been very far from Zarathustra's own thought. These are (1) *Asha* or *Asha Vahishta* (Right, Uprightness, Truth, Order, Harmony) corresponding to the Vedic *Rta*; (2) *Vohu Manah* or *Vahishtem Manah* (Good or Best Spirit, Mind or Thought); (3) *Khshathra* or *Khshathra Vairya* (Wished-for Kingdom, Sovereignty, Dominion); (4) *Armaiti* (the Vedic *Aramati*) or *Spentā Armaiti* (Devotion or Holy Devotion, Piety); (5) *Haurvatāt* (Welfare, Perfection, Perfect Well-being); and (6) *Amere-tāt* (Immortality). As their names imply, they represent certain abstract virtues, certain ethical conceptions, with no naturalistic associations.<sup>190</sup> They do not form inseparable associates in the Gāthās, for they are mentioned not only in lesser or bigger groups but also individually. They do not, again, exhaust the list of Gāthic abstractions, for one at least, *viz.*, *Sraosha* (Obedience to religious lore), is mentioned as often as *Haurvatāt*,<sup>191</sup> and another, *viz.*, *Ashi* (Recompense, Destiny), is closely associated with *Armaiti*. In fact, the similarity was so close that

<sup>189</sup> The references are to Ys. 45.7; 48.1; 46.11; 30.11; 31.20; 33.5, 8.—See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 174; also p. 157. But see Dr. Modi *Mem. Vol.*, p. 233, for the Parsi belief.

<sup>190</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 26; see Moulton, *Tr. Mag.*, p. 22 f.

<sup>191</sup> See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 97.

later writers had no scruple in forming a heptad,<sup>192</sup> adding to the list sometimes Ahura Mazda himself and at other times Sraosha.<sup>193</sup> The only personification having naturalistic association was *Ātar* (Fire) which Zarathustra took over from the ancestral creed and this he converted into a religious symbol: we may even guess that the Zoroastrian belief recorded by Porphyry was both a mnemonic and a pun, namely, that Ahura Mazda's body is like light or Fire (*ātar*)<sup>194</sup> and his soul like Truth (*arta*<sup>195</sup> = *asha*). The two other spirits recognised by Zoroaster are Ox-Soul (*Geush urvan*) and Ox-creator (*Geush tashan*); but they were probably created to provide a dramatic setting to the necessity of a new message of kindness to the dumb animals that are useful to man. In consonance with the spiritual interpretation of divine things, Heaven is described with a variety of spiritual epithets. It is indifferently called the region of Endless Light and Best Existence, the House of Song or Praise (*Garō demāna* = *Garōthmān* = *Garonmāna*) and the House, Kingdom, Pasture or Glorious Heritage of Good Thought or the Kingdom of Blessings.<sup>196</sup> Quite in keeping with the spirit of the Prophet's teaching, therefore, is the later description of the three heavens as those of Good Thought, Good Word and Good Deed—the three ethical principles of Zarathustra himself—which lead to the

<sup>192</sup> Moulton sees Babylonian influence in the raising of the number from six to seven by later writers.—See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, pp. 241, 99.

<sup>193</sup> Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 45; C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 138 (In the post-Avestan Parsi books only six Amesha Spentas are mentioned). For later modifications of this number, see Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 226. For Jewish and Christian parallels, see Modi, *Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis*, p. 482; *Anthropological Papers*, p. 173 (where resemblance between Zoroastrianism, on the one hand, and Judaism, Christianity, Neo-Platonism and Gnosticism, on the other, regarding the theory of Seven Spirits, Powers or Archangels is pointed out).

<sup>194</sup> It is interesting to note that when later on special worship was paid to the Amesha Spentas, they were regarded as descending to the oblation upon paths of light.—Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 47. Cf. *Devayāna* in Hinduism.

<sup>195</sup> Dhalla says, "The name *asha*, as it is generally now pronounced, must certainly have been pronounced in ancient times as *arta* or *areta*, the latter variant being also found, and it is equivalent to the Vedic *ṛta*." (*Zor. Th.*, p. 30).

<sup>196</sup> See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 170 f. The materialisation of the heavens and hells belongs to the Pahlavi period.—See Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 196. Latterly Garōtmān was regarded as reserved exclusively for Zoroastrians (e.g., in *Artā Virāf Nāmak*).—see D. M. Madan, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

realm of Endless Light.<sup>197</sup> The Prophet dropped entirely the cult of the ancestors which, to judge from Vedic religion and the Gāthā Haptanghaiti,<sup>198</sup> must have been widely practised, and in its place substituted the conception of the man's own spiritual self (daenā) passing on to weal or woe<sup>199</sup>—a conception that was later on elaborated into the theory that the departed soul is greeted on arrival at the Bridge of the Separator by his own conscience and religion in the form of a fair youthful maiden in the case of the righteous<sup>200</sup> and in that of an old hag in the case of the unrighteous. All these go to prove that Zarathustra's reform was systematic and thorough in so far as it related to the spiritual transformation of material concepts. A similar transformation of the principle of Evil and the abode of the unrighteous completes the picture. The Daevas or diabolic spirits—the gods of the older religion worshipped with dark rites, could not be entirely banished; but the other satellites of Angra Mainyu are *Aka* (or *Achish-ta*) *Manah*, Evil or Worst Mind, *Druj*, Lie or Wickedness, *Aēshma*, Wrath or Violence, and also *Taromaiti*, Heresy. We have no doubts left that nothing short of a complete inwardisation of religion was the Prophet's objective even though he was obliged by circumstances to retain some of the material symbols of spiritual entities and acts.

This would dispose of all descriptions of the physical attributes of Ahura<sup>201</sup> and of the ethical personifications symbolised by the Amesha Spentas. Ahura is not surrounded like

<sup>197</sup> Yt. 22.15; 3.3. It is interesting to note that Amitābha (Amida) of Japanese Buddhism signifies 'God of Boundless Light.' See Benveniste, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-7. For later belief, see Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 186 f.

<sup>198</sup> Ys. 37.3.

<sup>199</sup> See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 264.

<sup>200</sup> See Jackson, *The Ethics of Zoroastrianism*, in Sneath (Ed.), *Evolution of Ethics*, p. 148. This is supposed to have been materially conceived as a *houri* in Muhammadanism.—See Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

<sup>201</sup> No significance attaches to the Sassanian bas-relief at Naksh-e Rostam in which Anahmazd appears mounted on horseback.—See Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 27; Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 47; Söderblom, *op. cit.*, p. 194. See Geiger, *op. cit.*, I, Int., xxvi-xxviii.

There is a good deal of uncertainty about the winged figure of Persepolis before which Darius stands. Casartelli takes it as a representation of Ahura, but

Dyaus (Dyeus) by gods embodying the forces of nature—the sun, the moon, stars, wind, fire, earth, etc., but he is at the head of a number of moral hypostases.<sup>202</sup> The throne on which he is seated is not material or located in any spatial heaven or in the midst of any physical light.<sup>203</sup> The mouth or the tongue with which he speaks, the hands with which he distributes good and evil,<sup>204</sup> the eyes with which he sees all things, secret and open, and the garment (of firmament) which he wears are none of them physically understood; when not poetically regarded, they express some or other spiritual attribute or function of Ahura.<sup>205</sup> Similarly, his fatherhood of Vohu Manah and Armaiti<sup>206</sup> has no physical association about it, just as no sex-difference in the physical sense is intended to be conveyed when Asha Vahishta, Vohu Manah and Khshathra Vairya are later regarded as masculine (actually they are neuter nouns in the Gāthās), Armaiti as feminine, and Haurvatāt and Ameretāt feminine in grammatical declension but masculine as entities.<sup>207</sup>

How then were 'the Holy or Beneficent Immortal Ones,' the archangels or ministering angels of Ahura of later times, conceived by Zarathustra? Moulton remarks,<sup>208</sup> "In the world of thought Zarathushtra lives among qualities and attributes and principles which are as real to him as anything he can see, but never seem to need personification. But the ideal never obscures the real for him, and his communion with shadowy spiritual essences leaves him free to

Moulton considers it to be the Fravashi of Ahura even though the texts of the inscriptions nowhere refer to Fravashis.—See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 260; Huart, *op. cit.*, pp. 81, 92. For later beliefs, see Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 220 f.

<sup>202</sup> ERE. ix. 567, art. ORMAZD.

<sup>203</sup> In the *Bundahishn* Auharmazd has a fixed residence in eternal or endless light which is a brilliant space; in the *Dinkart* the residence is created and therefore non-eternal.—See Casartelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 26, 27; Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 172

<sup>204</sup> See quotation from *Shāyast lā Shāyast* (SBE, Ch. XV, 2) in Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 27: "I am an intangible spirit," says Auharmazd, "it is not possible to hold me by the hand." See West, SBE, V, p. 372.

<sup>205</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 20; Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 95.

<sup>206</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 21. See C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-6.

<sup>207</sup> Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, pp. 113-4; C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 139; Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 87.

<sup>208</sup> Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 94; *Tr. Mag.*, p. 23; Geiger, *op. cit.*, I, Int., p. xxxiii f.

come down to cows and pastures without any sense of incongruity." But in regard to the Amesha Spentas the converse is almost true, *i.e.*, although only ideally distinguishable from the Wise Lord, they are invested with a semblance of personality sufficient for identification and invocation. To quote Moulton again:<sup>209</sup> "The Ahuras (*i.e.*, the Amesha Spentas and the other spirits mentioned above) are not really separate from Mazdah or subordinate to him: they seem to be essentially part of his own being, attributes of the Divine endowed with a vague measure of separate existence for the purpose of bringing out the truth for which they severally stand." Thus, while, on the one hand, the Prophet replaces Good Thought by 'Thy Thought' in addressing Mazdah, there are, on the other hand, at least two places (Ys. 30.9; 31.4) where Mazdah and the others bearing the title Ahura are invoked together—an association that was exegetically expanded into the Heptad (and even larger groupings) in later literature<sup>210</sup> just as an obscure Vedic passage would be expanded in the Purāṇas. In later times when Dualism had firmly established itself in the Mazdayasnian religion, Angra Mainyu was provided with a similar number of associates with qualities opposite to those of the archangels of Ahura Mazdah, and abstractions passed through personifications into personalities.<sup>211</sup>

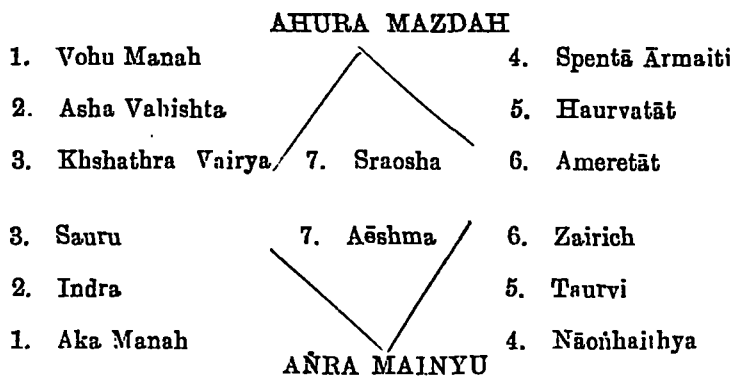
The moral hypostases are interesting in so far as they throw light on Zarathustra's conception of the essential conditions of a religious life. The six Amesha Spentas fall into two groups, one representing what Mazdah *is* and the other what he *gives*. Good Thought, Right and Dominion belong

<sup>209</sup> Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 97; see pp. 100, 293; *Tr. Mag.*, p. 21 f; C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 137. See *Tr. Mag.*, p. 24: Asha and Vohu Manah are not archangels at all, but Divine attributes within the hypostasis of Deity.

<sup>210</sup> Not even consistently there. See C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 133. Jackson points out that to the six Amesha Spentas are added at different times Ahura Mazdah, Sraosha, Atar, Gōshūrvan, Ashi Vanuhi, Airyaman, "Spirit of Wisdom," 24 more (making a total of 30) who preside over the days of the month or 27 more, making a total of 33, which is the number of the lords of the spiritual order (*ratus*) mentioned in Ys. 1.10, and, curiously enough, of the Vedic gods also in some enumerations.—See Haug, *op. cit.*, pp. 275-6; Mills, SBE, XXXI, p. 198, f.n. 7.

<sup>211</sup> The Host of Heaven and the Legions of Hell were finally ranged on opposite sides as follows:—

to the Lord while he bestows on his devotees Devotion, Welfare and Immortality;<sup>212</sup> but we must assume that the gifts are also a part of his beneficent nature and represent the aspects of his holiness which prompt devotion, his interest in the material wealth and welfare of his followers, and his solicitude for the good of his creatures' souls.<sup>213</sup> Zarathustra considered all ethical and spiritual propriety to be summed up in Right or Truth (Asha) and all evil in the Lie (Druj): in the Prophet's eye Asha is probably more important than Vohu Manah (who is however more frequently mentioned in the Gāthās and assumes pre-eminence in later literature) and Lie is far more prominent an adversary than Evil Spirit.<sup>214</sup> The Amesha Spentas represent, in fact, both divine attributes and conditions of human perfection: good mind, uprightness, devotion, conquest over evil, health and prosperity (and obedience to religious prescription) are the necessary elements of that spiritual life which culminates in



The Spirits with the same number are opposed to each other.—See Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 46, 85; Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 113 f. See also Casartelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 75, 89-92; Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, pp. 257, 264.

<sup>212</sup> Ys. 47.1; Vd. xix. 43. See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 114. Apparently even the soul had to depend upon Ahura for its immortality. See Kanga, *The Spenta Mainyu in the Gathas*, in *Dr. Modi Mem. Vol.*, p. 229 f: he thinks that Spenta Mainyu is a kind of mediator between God and man and eternal life comes through him alone just as in Christianity it comes through the Divine Spirit and the Son of God.

<sup>213</sup> Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, pp. 293-5. See the comparison between Judaism and Parsism there; see also *Tr. Mag.*, p. 25.

<sup>214</sup> C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 137. See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 111: The priority of Asha over Vohumanah in the Gathas is not at all explicit. It may perhaps rest on the idea that Asha is more inclusive, representing Mazdah's action, creation and law, and not only the "Thought" that inspires it. But

human immortality. To him that hath more shall be given : a person striving to possess these essential conditions of religious life is assisted, as it were, by the corresponding ministering angels of Ahura Mazdah in the task. " Piety pleads with the spirit in which there is wavering." <sup>215</sup> The Prophet must have created these ethical entities in order to divert men's minds away from the more prominent lower gods with special domains of their own whom they were wont to worship and to satisfy at one and the same time the craving for plurality within the nature of God and the need of maintaining His unity.<sup>216</sup> The measure of his success is to be judged not by the recrudescence of the suppressed nature-worship as soon as his reforming hand was removed but by the solicitude displayed by his successors to prove that the elements of nature were under the guardianship or leadership of these ethical principles, by the fact that the original functions of many of the revived Indo-Iranian deities were totally forgotten during the period of reformation and these reappeared either as gods with different meanings or as demons possessing hostile qualities,<sup>217</sup> and also by the fact that new deities had to be locally invented or absorbed from foreign cults to fill an

*Vohumanah* is comprehensive enough. He is the Thought of God, and of every good man.....He comes very near Mazdah's " Spirit," for once (Ys. 33.6) we actually find " Good Sprit " replacing " Good Thought." But see *ibid.*, p. 121.

See also *ibid.*, pp. 130-1 : 'The supremacy of Truth among the virtues was as conspicuous for the settled agriculturists of Eastern Iran as for Darius and his Persians in the West; and Zarathushtra was following the strongest element in the national character when he concentrated all evil into the figure of Falsehood, *Druj*, the antagonist of Asha, " Truth " or " Right." ' See *ibid.*, p. 397, the quotation from Herodotus : " Most disgraceful of all is lying accounted, and next to this to be in debt." See *Tr. Mag.*, p. 21; Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, pp. 43-5 (the order of frequency is Vohu Manah, Asha Vahishta, Khshathra Vairya, Spentā Armaiti, Haurvatāt, Ameretāt). See Taraporewala, *op. cit.*, Ch. III. The Path of Asha, esp. p. 46 : " Through the best *Asha*, through the highest *Asha*, may we catch sight of Thee (Ahura), may we approach Thee, may we be in perfect union with Thee ! "

<sup>215</sup> Ys. 31.12.

<sup>216</sup> Moulton, *Tr. Mag.*, p. 24.

<sup>217</sup> See Haug, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-9; Moulton, *Tr. Mag.*, p. 88. Further changes took place during the Sassanian revival, e.g., of Mithra.—See Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 79. An interesting change is in the meaning of Apām Napāt of the Vedas into the name of a locality in Yt. 5.72; 8.4.—See C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 166; also Darmesteter, *SBZ*, XXIII, p. 6, n.1.



impoverished pantheon. This probably explains why "mythological synonyms," which are so frequent in the Vedas, are almost absent in the revived pantheon of the Iranian religion—it was expanded just enough to meet pressing needs but the mythology was never so prolific as in India although a few ancient myths and some new ones, with occasional variants, made their appearance. Even these were mostly connected with cosmogony and legendary heroism<sup>218</sup> and not, as in India, devised to embellish the tales of gods and demons in their family histories and their feuds, fancies and friendships. C. de Harlez rightly remarks, "The Avestan mythology is throughout earnest, rigid and ethical in tone. There is here no exuberance of imagination, no erotic adventures nor divine progeny. Everything is linked up with the struggle of life against death, of good against evil."<sup>219</sup>

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<sup>218</sup> See *Indo-Iranian Studies* (Sanjana Comm. Vol.), p. 203 f.: *Iran's and the Myth of the First Man* by A. J. Carnoy. Wilson in *ibid.* gives an abstract of the Historical Legends of Persia.

<sup>219</sup> *ibid.*, p. 145. See also Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Civilisation*.

## CHAPTER X

### GOD IN ZOROASTRIANISM : POST-GATHIC

The later history of Zoroastrianism shows that the purity of the Iranian Prophet's reform was less lasting than that of the Prophet of Arabia. Possibly this is due to the fact that he had to contend against more formidable difficulties. The Aryan pantheon was much fuller and more spiritually conceived than that of the pre-Islāmic religion of the Arabian desert, and possibly there were schools of traditionalists, poets and priests in Iran who could conserve the ancient beliefs and practices much better than the Arabian poets and the keepers of the Ka'ba and who probably outlived Zoroaster's puny successors in the task of continuing the reform.<sup>1</sup> The environment, again, was more favourable in Arabia than in Iran; for in the latter there was nothing corresponding to the monotheistic communities of the Jews and the Christians of Arabia, and the surrounding nations, Semitic, Aryan and nomadic, were overwhelmingly polytheistic. Then, again, political supremacy favoured a firmer foundation of Muhammadanism, and the political head being also the head of the infant Church, religious persuasion and political coercion could go hand in hand in Islām's career of conquest. An idea of what Zoroastrianism, which was not exactly a tolerant religion,<sup>2</sup> might have been if more powerful state-support than that of the court of Vishtāspa

<sup>1</sup> See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 301, where a distinction is drawn between Moses and Zoroaster. The word Irān is a corrupted form of Aryan.

<sup>2</sup> "The *Dinkart* upholds the divine right of kings and states that if the temporal power of the glorious king Jamshid had been blended with the spiritual power of the supreme priest Zoroaster, the Evil Spirit would have lain low long ere this, and the Kingdom of Righteousness would have been established on earth once and for ever."—Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 192.

It also sanctions the use of force for the conversion of the aliens.—*Ibid.*, v. 193.

The alien faiths were branded as the promptings of the Evil Spirit, and were declared to be teaching a vile law, opposed to the pure law of Mazda.—*Ibid.*, p. 199. (See Ch. XXIII).

had been available at the inception of the reform, can be formed if we refer to what it did become under the Sassanids when Zoroastrianism became the state religion, was purged of some of its excrescences, and put down the schismatic movements of Mānī and Mazdak.<sup>3</sup> What actually happened after Zoroastrian reform, however, was that ancient beliefs and practices were driven underground in localities where the reforming party was in power and the counter-reformation began as soon as circumstances became favourable. Not only did such old beliefs as survived return in their original form or as modified by lapse of memory, absorption of foreign materials,<sup>4</sup> and the Prophet's reform, but, as in Buddhism, Christianity and Muhammadanism, the Prophet himself became the locus of a new cult and distance of time and space only served to magnify his spiritual proportions and miraculous powers.<sup>5</sup> In the absence of any local Aryan scriptures of the type of the Vedas<sup>6</sup> we are unable to reconstruct the religious life of pre-Zoroastrian Iran with absolute certainty and our only guides in this matter are the kindred Vedic literature and such survivals as are recorded in the extant Iranian literary works and inscriptions. It is, therefore, likely that, as Moulton observes,<sup>7</sup> "the Yashts,

Seceders were persecuted and apostasy was made a capital crime by the Zoroastrian Church. See Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 201. See also Huart, *op. cit.*, pp. 154, 159.

<sup>3</sup> Casartelli points out that even then separate tendencies could be distinguished in the classical treatises of the period.—*Op. cit.*, p. 3. For Mani and Mazdak, see Huart, *op. cit.*, pp. 177-84.

<sup>4</sup> See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 201 (West and South Iranian star-cult), 238-43; Benveniste, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> To quote Dhalla's words (*Zor. Th.*, p. 195): "Zoroaster is a historical personage in the Gathas. In the later Avesta he is surrounded by an aureole, and becomes superhuman; but in the Pahlavi works his personality is enshrouded by miracles, and he is transformed into a myth." See Geiger, *op. cit.*, II, App. I. *Gushtāsp and Zoroaster* by Spiegel (esp. p. 195 f.).

<sup>6</sup> We should remember that even the Avestan script has not been recovered—the Avesta we possess is in Pahlavi script written from right to left.—See art. *AVESTA* in *ERE*.

<sup>7</sup> Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 182; *Dic. Bib.*, IV, p. 988; Benveniste, *op. cit.*, p. 20 f. Dhalla dissents from this view: "It seems to us that we tread a very delicate path when we set aside as non-Zoroastrian all that does not appear in the Gathas." (*Zor. Th.*, p. 77.)

and kindred parts of the Avesta, represent with tolerable exactness the unreformed Iranian religion " and " they are posterior to Zarathushtra in time but not in matter."

It is evident that the Prophetic reform had overshot its mark—the people at large were not yet ready for the disappearance of so many age-long beliefs and practices. Just as in India the absolutistic Upaniṣadic speculations became theistic towards the end and were then mellowed down further by the infusion of a new polytheism of the monarchical type, so also in Iran the earlier attempts to bring the Prophet's abstractions into relation with the physical world were followed by the re-introduction of much of the older polytheism and demonology. The method adopted originally was probably, as in India, exegetic—the writers professed to do nothing more than systematise the Prophet's utterances and draw out the implications of his teachings; and, as often happens, this probably led to some amount of tampering with the sacred texts to make desirable interpretation and elaboration possible. In this fashion, the Amesha Spentas, the Fravashis, the sacred drink, oblations in the Fire, the Yazatas that rule different realms of being, abstract and concrete, and personifications of the requisites of ritual and magical formulae made their appearance.<sup>8</sup> The distinction between this later Zoroastrianism and Vedicism is noticeable in one important particular, namely, that Ahura Mazda continued to be the one Lord over all and the lesser spirits were regarded as performing their functions under his supremacy and direction;<sup>9</sup> otherwise people in Iran invoked these archangels (Amesha Spentas or Amshaspands) and angels (Yazatas, Yazads or Izads)<sup>10</sup> for boons with sacrifices, pretty much as the Vedic people invoked the gods in India. As Moulton says,<sup>11</sup> " The monotheistic theology is preserved, out it can hardly be said that monotheistic religion remains."

<sup>8</sup> Moulton, *Tr. Mag.*, pp. 88. 90.

<sup>9</sup> Subject to rare lapses noticed below. See Moulton, *Tr. Mag.*, pp. 85-7.

<sup>10</sup> Casartelli disapproves of the use of the words ' archangel ' and ' angel ' for Ameshospands and Yazatas.—See *Op. cit.* p. 75.

<sup>11</sup> Moulton, *Tr. Mag.*, p. 100.

And we should add, dualism became more prominent with Ahriman acquiring a more pronounced individuality and independence and spoiling the work of Ormazd by his counter-creations in every realm of being. C. de Harlez correctly describes the development of Zoroastrianism when he says<sup>12</sup> that "the Monotheistic tendencies predominate in the Gāthās, dualism in the Vendidad, naturalism in the Yasna and the revived cult of the spirits in the Yashts."

Apparently, the return of the nature-gods was mediated by the association established between the ethical attributes of Ahura and certain elements of the physical world with the help of obscure Gāthic passages or of the ordinary laws of cause and effect. Possibly the political conditions were still unfavourable for a direct return to nature-worship and it is not improbable that Zoroastrian intolerance was responsible for the disappearance of the class which could reinstate the suppressed beliefs and practices in their purity and entirety. In every period of religious or social reform the hand of oppression falls most heavily on the priestly class as being the conservers and custodians of ancient wisdom: we may very well suppose that the suppression of the older priestly class by the reformers is responsible for the loss of much of the Aryan tradition in Iran as compared with India where the Upaniṣadic seers did not care much about the type of God the people worshipped (although most of them looked upon the sacrificial cult with disfavour) and were not sufficiently interested in social welfare to seek political aid to enforce their own spiritual views on the people at large. So it happened in Iran that during the period of counter-reformation some of the older Indo-Iranian gods lost their original functions, if not actually degraded into demons, while others—possibly those who had at one time a strong local support and lingered in popular memory—not only recovered their functions but possibly had an extension of their dominion.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 122; see Moulton, *Tr. Mag.*, p. 64.

<sup>13</sup> See Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 97.

Later Zoroastrianism remained true to the Prophet's teaching in the sense that it always strove to maintain the supremacy of Ormazd<sup>14</sup> and the superiority (at least in theory, if not always in practice)<sup>15</sup> of the personified abstractions which in the Gāthā Haptanghaiti received the collective name of the Amesha Spentas (Immortal Beneficent Ones). But, by extending the pantheon with the Yazatas (the Adorable Ones) and the Fravashis (the Guardian Angels) and treating them practically as lower gods, it seriously threatened the Prophet's monotheism and in fact tended to view spiritual powers in an anthropomorphic fashion. Thus, while in the Gāthās Ahura Mazda is most spiritually conceived and the various qualities serve, like so many facets of a single diamond, to indicate his single spiritual nature, in the younger Avestan religion these divine attributes are not only independently, though subordinately, conceived but are assigned distinct elements of nature as their special domains.<sup>16</sup> In this way Vohu Manah, conceived by the Prophet to represent Wisdom and Spiritual Enlightenment as gifts of God,<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Except that he is occasionally represented as worshipping some of the Yazatas, (see below).

<sup>15</sup> Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

<sup>16</sup> Söderblom, *op. cit.*, p. 190. Moulton thinks that the Ameshospands survived Zarathushtra only in name.—*Tr. Mag.*, p. 79. Benveniste thinks that their abstract names are certainly Zoroastrian in origin but that each of them has taken the place of a formerly deified element whose name was abolished (*op. cit.*, p. 83). In *Shāyast lā -Shāyast*, Ch. XV, 4 (SBE, V, p. 373), it is said that Anaharmazd and the Archangels each produced his (or her) own creation.

<sup>17</sup> The first of Ahura Mazda's creation was Vohu Mano, "Good Mind" (both good intelligence and good moral sense), in consultation with whom he produced all his other creatures, just as in the Old Testament (Prov. 8) Wisdom is the first creation of Jehovah, and stood beside him as master-builder when God established the heavens and the earth. What is said of Vohu Mano in the Gāthas is sometimes strikingly similar to what Philo says about the Logos. Darmesteter was led by this resemblance, among other things, to think that the Gāthas (which he regarded not as the oldest part of the Avesta, but as comparatively recent) were directly influenced by Jewish Alexandrian philosophy.—G. F. Moore, *History of Religions*, I, p. 381. This theory fell practically still-born, and no Iranist of repute accepts it, for notices of the Gāthic religion are older than Philo by some centuries. See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 9 f.; *Tr. Mag.*, p. 6 Söderblom, *op. cit.*, p. 191. For Wisdom and its relation to Divine creation in the *Mainyo-i Khard*, see Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 34 f.; for Vohuman, see p. 44 f.

becomes, by virtue of certain stray associations with cattle in the Gāthās,<sup>18</sup> the patron deity of cattle in later literature.<sup>19</sup> Asha Vahishta, who represents Divine Righteousness or the Divine Law of Harmony in individual and social life, becomes, through similar Gāthic association,<sup>20</sup> the lord of fire or light.<sup>21</sup> Khshathra Vairya, Divine Rule and Beneficence, comes to be regarded as the lord of metals,<sup>22</sup> probably through association with the Molten Metal which would finally establish the kingdom of righteousness.<sup>23</sup> Ārmaiti, Holy Skill, Piety or the devotional counterpart of Righteousness,<sup>24</sup> becomes the presiding spirit of earth which provides pasture to cattle<sup>25</sup> and gives continued life and indestructibility to the bodies of the righteous.<sup>26</sup> Haurvatāt, Welfare or Perfection that comes from physical vigour and endurance and a sense of righteous and joyful living,<sup>27</sup> becomes the genius of water,<sup>28</sup> and Ameretāt or Immortality, which

<sup>18</sup> Ys. 29.7, 8; 31.10; 47.3.

<sup>19</sup> See Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 29; Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 49; C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

<sup>20</sup> Ys. 34.4; 43.9; 46.7; 31.3. For other references, see Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 43 (under ATAR).

<sup>21</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 35; Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 49; C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 141. So also Agni and Rta in the Vedas.—See Lommel, *Some Corresponding Conceptions in Old India and Iran in Dr. Modi Mem. Vol.*, p. 262.

<sup>22</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 37; Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 50; C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 142; Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, pp. 111-2.

<sup>23</sup> Ys. 30.7; 32.7; 51.9. See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 157.

<sup>24</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 37 f.; Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 50; C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

<sup>25</sup> Ys. 47.3.

<sup>26</sup> Ys. 30.7. See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 350, f.n.4. He associates the word with Arā mātā, Earth Mother (*Ear. Zor.*, p. 112). The difficulty is that the Vedas know both Mother Earth and Aramati; the confusion would then be pre-Zoroastrian. "This presumes burial as practised by the Iranians, and notably by the Achaemenian kings."

Söderblom thinks that Zarathushtra saw in the earth a symbol of resignation, piety and devotion (*op. cit.*, p. 201). For resurrection of the body, see Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 289.

<sup>27</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 40; Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 51; C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

<sup>28</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 41; Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 52; C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

stands for the deathlessness and felicitic reward of the blessed in Paradise,<sup>29</sup> is set over plants,<sup>30</sup> possibly on the basis of a Gāthic passage which mentions them all together<sup>31</sup> and of another which declares them to be for sustenance (possibly ambrosia and nectar).<sup>32</sup> Thus, out of the Prophet's spiritual message, posterity managed to get the presiding geniuses of earth, water, fire, plants and animals and also of metals. In no time were the other realms also provided with appropriate spirits and in fact duplicates were in some cases also supplied,<sup>33</sup> and even dual divinities.<sup>34</sup> We have it from Herodotus that the Persians worshipped the vault of the Sky, Sun, Moon, Earth, Fire, Water and Winds and also the Assyrian (and Arabian) Mylitta (Anāhita), corresponding to the Greek Aphrodite (Venus), which Herodotus identifies by mistake with Mitra—a true enough picture of the unreformed religion of Iran to which Zoroastrianism almost completely reverted in popular worship.<sup>35</sup>

When once the flood-gates were opened it was difficult to stem the tide of new intrusions into Zarathustra's spiritual monotheism. It seemed as if the abstract and the ethical were in some danger of being swept away by the concrete and the material. The secondary associations also began to encroach upon and replace the primary meanings, and this led to the personification of the ordinary objects and attributes

<sup>29</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 40; Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 51; C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

<sup>30</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 41; Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 52; C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

<sup>31</sup> Ys. 51.7.

<sup>32</sup> Ys. 34.11. See Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 40; Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 363, n.1.

<sup>33</sup> Asha Vahishta and Ātar for fire (possibly the one was the transcendent and the other the immanent spirit of fire); Apam Napāt (retained in Ābān Yasht) and Ardvī Sūrā Anāhitā; Armaiti and Zam.

<sup>34</sup> "The more prominent of the dual divinities are Ahura-Mithra (corresponding to the Mitra-Varuna of the Vedas), Hvarekshaeta-Mithra, Mithra-Rashnu, Mithra-Raman, Rashnu-Arshtat, Raman-Vayu, Daena-Chisti, Ashi Vanghoi-Pārendi and Asman-Zamyat."—Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 99.

<sup>35</sup> See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, pp. 391-4, with footnotes; Benveniste, *op. cit.*, p. 26; Ys. 38 and 42.3. For the derivation of Anāhitā, see Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 238; Benveniste, *op. cit.*, p. 62 f.



of the Gāthās into angelic beings.<sup>36</sup> For contemplation of Divine attributes there was substituted the remembrance of Divine names<sup>37</sup> and, as in India, the magic of manthra (*mantra*) often came to be regarded as more potent than faith in Divine grace and omnipotence.<sup>38</sup> Though higher in the spiritual hierarchy, the Amesha Spentas begin, in fact, to be outshone by the Yazatas, and, as Dhalla remarks,<sup>39</sup> "the angels Anāhita and Tishtrya, Mithra and Verethraghna figure more prominently<sup>40</sup> than the archangels Vohu Manah and Asha Vahishta, Armaiti and Ameretāt," and some of them appropriate the longest rolls of praise. The Fravashis,<sup>41</sup> again, make their appearance in the Avestan religion for the first time, although it is not unlikely that the introduction was facilitated by the Prophet's reference to the soul of the Ox (and of the Kine) laying before the Heavenly throne its woes on earth and to his own self being chosen to succour it in distress.<sup>42</sup>

We have in the worship of the Fravashis the revival of that cult of ancestor-worship which is such a prominent feature of the Hindu religion from Vedic times<sup>43</sup> and which

<sup>36</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 76. He quotes as illustrations Daena, Chisti, Mithra, Raman, Rata, Manthra, Airyaman, Asha, Hvare, Maonghah, Asman, Ushah, Atar and Zam. See also p. 196.

D. M. Madan in his *Discourses on Iranian Literature* (p. 4 f.) dissociates himself from the view that the Yazads and Amshāspends are personal entities (angels and archangels)—he considers them to be either abstract qualities or material objects personified.

<sup>37</sup> See Ormazd Yasht (Yt. 1).

<sup>38</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 76.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

<sup>40</sup> Dhalla makes a guarded statement about their recognition by Zoroaster (*Zor. Th.*, p. 78) while Moulton rejects them *in toto* as objects of Zoroaster's veneration. (*Tr. Mag.*, p. 85 f.).

<sup>41</sup> Dr. Modi defines Fravashi as "that power or spiritual essence in a substance which enables it to grow." "Fravashi is a spirit, a guardian spirit, inherent in everything, animate or inanimate, which protects it from decay and enables it to grow, flourish and prosper" (*Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis*, p. 409).

D. M. Madan thinks that the translation of Fravashi by guardian spirit or guiding spirit is wrong: it ought to mean the individuality that makes the world progress or advance (*op. cit.*, p. 10).

<sup>42</sup> Ys. 29.

<sup>43</sup> See Barth, *Religions of India*, p. 22 f.; Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, Ch. XV; Geiger, *op. cit.*, I, p. 112 f.

must have been a feature of Iranian religion also, judging by the early re-appearance of the belief after the Gāthīc period was over.<sup>44</sup> If this were so, then, Moulton thinks,<sup>45</sup> the conception of the *daenā* or self, the totality of one's ethical individuality (as distinguished from the *urvan* or soul, the principle of conscious personality), was "Zarathushtra's deliberate substitute for the *fravashi*" and hence, characteristically enough, the *daenā* belonged to the righteous and the wicked alike while the *fravashi* belonged to the righteous alone.<sup>46</sup> It is in their capacity as the souls of ancestors that the *fravashis* took interest in their living descendants, were invoked and worshipped during the last ten days of the year including the five intercalary days (the *Muktād*), and had the month immediately following (*i.e.*, the first month of the year) and also the 19th day of each month dedicated to them;<sup>47</sup> in return for such acts of filial piety they blessed the house and promoted birth in the family<sup>48</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Ys. 37.3.

<sup>45</sup> Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 264; *Tr. Mag.*, pp. 36-7.

<sup>46</sup> In Yt. 13.155 the five 'souls' or spiritual elements of a man are the vitality, the self, the perception, the soul and the *Fravashi* (Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 256 with fn. 2), or the spirit, conscience, perception, soul and *Fravashi* (Darmesteter, SBE. XXIII, p. 230). See also C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, 193, for the later grouping from the *Great Bundehesh*; also Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 123. For the distinction between soul (*urvan* or *Ravān*) and guiding spirit (*Fravashi*), see Modi, *Rel. Cer. and Cus. of the Parsis*, p. 416 f. By the end of the Pahlavi period both of these spiritual faculties, namely, the soul and the *Farohar*, came to be considered as one and the same.—Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 245. For the modern reform movement to keep up the distinction and to stop intercessory prayers for the dead, see Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, pp. 847-8. Söderblom questions Moulton's distinction between the *daena* and the *fravashi* as above. See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 259; Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 85; Geiger, *op. cit.*, I. p. 124 with fn. 2.

<sup>47</sup> Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, pp. 257, 261; *Tr. Mag.*, pp. 169, 179; ERE. vi. 117; Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 148; C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 187; Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 60; ERE. i. 455; Modi, *Rel. Cer. and Cus. of the Parsis*, pp. 423 f, 466 f.

The period is called *Hamaspāthmaēdaya*, when man was supposed to have been created by God, the order of creation being the heavens, water, earth, vegetable creation, animal creation and man, to each of which a *Gāhambār* or seasonal festival of five days is dedicated (Modi, *op. cit.*, p. 449). The *Fravashis* of the dead are offered cakes of meat and flour (*myazda*) in the funeral ceremony called the *āfringān* (homage) and there is a ceremonial partaking of the same by those present and qualified to take them. For the ceremony, see Modi, *op. cit.*, p. 391 f. For the *gāhambārs*, see ERE. iii. 129.

<sup>48</sup> See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 270, for references. Yt. 13.5, 15, 150, 157; Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 148 (the *Fravashis* are dreadful when offended).

and also increased the means of their sustenance, namely, plants and waters.<sup>49</sup> But other strands of thought also entered into this fravashi-idea. The fravashis came to be looked upon not only as the beneficent souls of the departed good but also as the guardian angels or protective genii of individuals and societies—an extension of function to be found in the doctrine of saints in Christianity and of *welis* in Islām.<sup>50</sup> But their beneficent activity ranges over wide realms. To quote Moulton:<sup>51</sup> “They are essential for promoting birth: they nourish animals and men, waters and plants; they guard sun, moon and stars; they are constantly present in battle as givers of victory; they watch over the Lake,<sup>52</sup> the stars of the Great Bear, the body of the sleeping Keresāspa,<sup>53</sup> and the seed of Zarathushtra, in preparation for the final Renewal. In time of drought they vie with each other to procure water from Vourukasha, each for his own house, clan or district.” Naturally, the Fravashis began to be regarded not merely as the departed souls of dead ancestors but also as the spirits of the glorious dead, of the past heroes of the Iranian world. In the Farvardin Yasht a list of some of the secular and spiritual heroes, who had at any time advanced the cause of the Zoroastrian faith, is to be found.<sup>54</sup>

It is not improbable that the magnitude of the task involved led to a dissociation of the Fravashis into two different groups. The Fravashis as the souls of the departed had to be invested with powers out of all proportion to their

<sup>49</sup> Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, pp. 271, 277-8. See Ys. 44.4.

<sup>50</sup> Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 279; C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 188. For the order of precedence among the Fravashis, see Yt. 13.17 (see Moulton, *Tr. Mag.*, p. 102).

<sup>51</sup> Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 278; see Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, pp. 145-7; *Spiegel Memorial Volume*, p. 197 f.

<sup>52</sup> Lake Kansocya in which the seed of Zarathustra is miraculously preserved till the time of Saoshyant's conception. See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 89; also Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 21.

<sup>53</sup> The mythical hero who was not admitted into heaven for being a party to the quenching of fire, but whose body would be raised from the dead by Sraosha and Nairyosangha in order that he might slay Azhi Dahaka on the eve of the final Renovation. See Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 288; Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 176; also *The Legend of Keresāspa* in *Spiegel Memorial Volume*, pp. 93-8.

<sup>54</sup> C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-2; Geiger, *op. cit.*, I, p. 116 f.

capacities when embodied on earth as men and they were also required to protect beings and domains with which as men they could not have had any tangible relation. Almost as a matter of necessity, therefore, there was evolved the idea of Fravashis of the elements and of the non-human world of life—of the sky, water, the earth and fire, of plants and cattle, and, in fact, of the entire creation of the good spirit;<sup>55</sup> the innumerable and unnumbered stars that are visible were regarded in some later literature as the fravashis of the terrestrial worlds, for every creature and creation.<sup>56</sup> But once the view was accepted that every creature must have a guardian angel it was difficult to exclude any inmate of the spiritual world from the operation of this fancy. So the theory was propounded that even the Yazatas and the Amesha Spentas—nay, even such abstract entities as Manthra, the community taken as a collective whole, and creation in general had frāvashis of their own.<sup>57</sup> And the climax was reached when even Ahura Mazdah himself was furnished with a Fravashi of his own,<sup>58</sup>—the only entity not possessing a

<sup>55</sup> C. de Harlez considers them to be only poetic fancies and not as seriously intended (*op. cit.*, p. 191). See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 262; Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 144; Modi, *op. cit.*, p. 411.

According to the Avesta, all natural objects have their Fravashis, but not the objects that have been made from these natural objects. One is reminded in this connection of the Platonic discussion about the types of objects that have Ideas (and also of the 'patterns' of the Bible). See Modi, *op. cit.*, p. 412, 414.

<sup>56</sup> All the named stars are ordinary stars; others are Fravashis; moreover the named constellations themselves have Fravashis.—C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-6; also Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 86; Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 281; Geiger, *op. cit.*, I, p. 119. Casartelli points out (*Op. cit.*, p. 86): "We no longer find in the Pehlevi books the *frarāhars* of Auharmazd and other celestial spirits. On the other hand we still meet with the *fravāhars* of animals and inanimate objects, as the earth, cattle, trees and waters, and they are mixed up with those of the pious in paradise" (See also C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 196).

<sup>57</sup> Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 274; ERE. vi. 118 (fravashis of house, family, clan, district); C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 191. Moulton compares the Fravashi attached to a community with the "princes" of nations in the Book of Daniel and the "angels of the churches" in the Apocalypse (*loc. cit.*). See Dic. Bib., IV, p. 991. For comparison with the Roman manes, see Modi, *op. cit.*, p. 426, n. 2. See Ys. 19.18. See also Moulton, *The Teaching of Zarathushtra*, p. 38.

<sup>58</sup> See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 275; *Tr. Mag.*, p. 103; Yt. 13.80; Ys. 23.2; 26.2. 7. Moulton suggests that the figure in the Persepolis bas-relief is not of Ahura but of his Fravashi (*Ear. Zor.*, p. 260). In this case possibly the Fravashi is not a guardian angel but a double (see Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 266, for the mean-

fravashi being Spenta Mainyu, presumably because at the time Ahura Mazdah came to possess a fravashi Spenta Mainyu had been identified with him and did not need a separate fravashi for himself.<sup>59</sup>

Reference has already been made to the heavenly synod where the aggrieved soul of the ox was offered consolation by the promise of sending down Zarathustra who was present there, and also to the belief that in due time the saviours of the world would appear to rout the forces of evil. This led to the development of the idea that not only the dead and the living but also the unborn have fravashis; in other words, the souls of beings were invested with pre-existence as well as immortality,<sup>60</sup> and this ante-mundane existence assimilated them still further to the archangels and angels and established their right to the reverence of men. Thus, we are told that not only do they help men as their special protectors all through their lives, admonishing them through their intelligence and their conscience and carrying their prayers to God and His gifts to them, but they return to heaven when life has been well lived and thence continue their protective activity to the succeeding generations also.<sup>61</sup> Now, it is this element of pre-existence that was later expanded into the idea that for the first three thousand years of the world's history the Fravashis had only a spiritual existence in heaven<sup>62</sup> and that it is only when Angra Mainyu invaded the dominion of Ahura Mazdah that they volunteered to fight the Evil Spirit in order to obtain care-free immortality at the Renovation. The informed reader will at once remember the Platonic theory of the souls or essences of things existing in the world

ing of Genius; also Modi, *op. cit.*, pp. 418-9). See Moulton, *The Teaching of Zarathushtra*, p. 95.

<sup>59</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 85.

<sup>60</sup> Modi, *op. cit.*, p. 416 f. See Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 23; also Spiegel *Memorial Volume*, pp. 99-106.

<sup>61</sup> It should be remembered that a man could invoke the aid of other fravashis also although he was supposed to be under the special protection of one fravashi.—See ERE. vi. 117. As to the ultimate destiny of the fravashis of those who had not lived well it is difficult to get an exact answer. The *Sad-dar Bunderish* (and al-Biruni) consigned them to hell.—See ERE. vi. 117.

<sup>62</sup> See ERE. i. 205; vi. 117.

of Ideas before incarnating themselves (and the resemblance becomes closer when we find that both Platonism and later Zoroastrianism placed each soul in his own star); but it is doubtful if Zoroastrianism ever seriously contended for the eternity of the Fravashis since that would take them out of the creative activity of Ahura Mazda.<sup>63</sup>

But it is easier to multiply entities than to assign to them proper functions. We may very well believe that the puritans of the faith did not take kindly to these innovations and that the more they ignored these creations (or revivals) the more zeal did the counter-reformationists show to prove their reality and power. Judging by parallels from other religions, specially from Hinduism, we may almost take it for granted that the mediating spirits like the Amshaspands and the Fravashis and the departmental deities like the Yazatas served to bring God nearer the hearts and homes of men and to introduce a sense of sanctification of their surroundings much more effectively than the one Ahura Mazda whom Zarathustra had preached. A God that serves all purposes in all fields equally at all times is as good as one that serves no special purpose of the individual at all. Why, again, should the Lord of all creation personally look to the details of administration when even an earthly king has so many assistants and servants? That the latter is obliged to take help because he is not omnipotent, omniscient and omnipresent, and not because it is beneath his dignity or beyond his desire to do so, is what men with a sense of their own limitations do not understand and appreciate. Wishing unconsciously to get rid of the drudgery and the inconvenience of having to do everything for themselves, they ascribe to God a host of helpers so that He may enjoy the comforts of His sovereign majesty unalloyed by the troubles of personal administration. A solitary God in a lonely heaven, again, is

<sup>63</sup> The other point of distinction would be that the Ideas manifested themselves in classes whereas the Fravashis were for individual beings or groups taken as a whole. In Mediaeval speculation in Europe, however, the embodiment of an Idea in a single angel was not unknown.

so repugnant to the human mind that even in strictly monotheistic religions the provision of messengers and agents (in addition to internal distinctions of the Divine nature) has not been felt incongruous with the omnipotent majesty of God. It is not improbable that so long as geographical location and spatial attribute play any part in the conception of heaven and so long as human immortality is conceived in terms of translation to this heavenly residence and persistence of separate individuality, the idea of other denizens of heaven will never disappear. It is in conformity with strict logic, therefore, that the Advaita Vedānta denied at the same time the existence of a spatial heaven and its denizens and the eternal persistence of finite individuals as separate entities.

The introduction of concrete celestial beings by the side of Ahura served not only to jeopardise the monotheism but also to alter the conception of divine nature. Thus, the full effect of occasionally counting Ahura Mazda himself among the Amesha Spentas was seen when he was considered to be a Yazata himself—a god among gods, and provided, like the other Yazatas, with a Fravashi of his own. Nay more: he is often depicted as sacrificing unto the minor divinities,<sup>64</sup> who are admittedly his own creations, not always to invigorate them by his offerings against their demoniac adversaries (as when he sacrificed to Tishtrya against Apaosha, the demon of drought) but for boons, as when he prays to Ardvi Sūra Anāhita “with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, with the words, with the deeds, with the libations and with the rightly-spoken words,” to bring Zarathustra to think, speak and act after his law.<sup>65</sup> He does the same to Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, in the shining Garonmāna<sup>66</sup> and to Vayu in the Airyana Vaejah and the latter grants him the boon

<sup>64</sup> See Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 79 f; Moulton, *Tr. Mag.*, p. 99.

<sup>65</sup> Yt. 5.17-8; see also 8.50-3.

<sup>66</sup> Yt. 10.123; also 92 and 50.1—Hara Berezañti (Alburz) is the abode of Mithra.

that he (Ahura Mazdah) will smite the creation of Angra Mainyu while nobody would be able to smite the creation of the Good Spirit.<sup>67</sup> We must remember that during the later Avestan period dualism became more pronounced and it was probably felt that Ahura Mazdah needed the assistance of his own creations to undo the work of Angra Mainyu. In fact, not only the Yazatas but also the Fravashis are regarded as coming to his assistance. Ahura Mazdah is made to say that had not the good, powerful and beneficent Fravashis helped him, the wicked Druj would have smitten the good creation and Spenta Mainyu would not have been able to overthrow the kingdom of Angra Mainyu.<sup>68</sup> Thus, the Yazatas and the Fravashis not only assist Ahura Mazdah in the maintenance of creation and the uprooting of evil, but without their boon and help his victory over evil would have been delayed or become uncertain. During the Pahlavi period practically this type of belief persisted,<sup>69</sup> while speculations about the nature of Divine revelation to men introduced a distinction, as in Mosaic revelation, between the visual presentation of God (which was denied) and His symbolic presence in fire or His empirical manifestation through sound (which was affirmed).<sup>70</sup> We are not to suppose, however, that at any time of its history Zoroastrianism was tempted to forsake the spirituality or the pre-eminence of Ahura Mazdah—the exceptions when he is treated on the same footing as his creations are so few that they only serve to prove the general rule.

<sup>67</sup> Yt. 15.2-4. See also Yt. 15.44 where Vayu calls himself the All-smiting because he can smite the creations of both the Good Spirit and the Evil Spirit. Darmesteter draws attention to the fact that Zeus is represented as doing the same thing to Thetis, Prometheus and Hecatonchirs (SBE, IV, p. lxi, n.5).

<sup>68</sup> See Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 86, 146. For the functions of the Fravashis, see the opening lines of Yt. 13 (Farvardin Yasht).

<sup>69</sup> In *Shāyast lā-Shāyast* (Ch. IX. 11-3) we are told that the angels and the guardian spirits of the righteous must be invited to a ceremony, for without that invocation it is not possible for them to keep the evil away.—SBE, V, pp. 312-4.

<sup>70</sup> Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 27; Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 221: A later text speaks of Ormazd as taking hold of the Prophet's hand and giving him wisdom in the shape of water to swallow.



In later Zoroastrian literature it is the Amesha Spentas that suffered the greatest amount of transformation, for when concrete gods were in demand abstractions and attributes were the least satisfactory from the devotional point of view. Even in the later Avestan literature, as Dhalla points out,<sup>71</sup> "the archangels, who are higher in the spiritual hierarchy, have either to content themselves with short laudatory compositions or go entirely without any special dedication" while some of the longest sacrificial hymns are composed in honour of the Yazatas; and "some of the attributes that are the prerogative of Ahura Mazda alone are lavishly applied to the leading angels, but the authors are sparing even to parsimony when they confer honorific epithets on the Amesha Spentas." Even in the Haptān Yasht, supposed to be specially dedicated to the Amesha Spentas, praises of some of the Yazatas and of the Fravashis of the faithful fill nearly half the space. Each is provided with a fravashi like Ahura Mazdah himself, although their old unification through Ahura is retained by means of the supposition that these fravashis of the archangels are all of one thought, one speech and one deed, have the same father and commander, namely, Ahura Mazdah, and see one another's soul.<sup>72</sup> What is more important to note, however, is the tendency to think of them in concrete shapes. They dwell in Garonmāna, the highest heaven, which is less often thought of as the abode of praise than as the region of endless light<sup>73</sup> (just as the Gāthic *Humata*, Good Thought, *Hūkhta*, Good Works, and *Hvarshta*, Good Deeds—the other three heavens in order of excellence, respectively become the realm of the Stars, the Moon and the Sun), and there they occupy golden seats (like Ahura Mazdah).<sup>74</sup> If Geldner's suggestion be correct, it appears that Vohu Manah was worshipped in the form of

<sup>71</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 78.

<sup>72</sup> Yt. 13.83-4; 19.16-20.

<sup>73</sup> Similarly the Vedic heaven is *rocana*, the luminous space, and when three heavens are distinguished they are called *trī rocand*.—Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 9.

<sup>74</sup> Vend. 19.31, 32. See also Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 276; Geiger, *op. cit.*, I, p. 104 with fn. 1; Jackson, *Zor. St.*, p. 147.

an image which, when defiled, could be purified by an appropriate ceremony.<sup>75</sup> It is not improbable, therefore, that the iconic worship of Vohu Manah (Omanus or Omanes), if not of Ameretāt also, in Cappadocia, described by Strabo,<sup>76</sup> was a radical innovation, prompted by the desire to obtain immortality in Garonmāna where Vohu Manah rises from his golden seat to welcome the soul of the faithful led by his beautiful Daena.<sup>77</sup> It has often been pointed out that the Apocalyptic literature of the Bible owes much to Zoroastrianism and it is in Apocalyptic visions that spiritual things tend to assume pictorial form;<sup>78</sup> it is no wonder, therefore, that the Spirit that greets the pious soul should be more materially conceived than the other Amesha Spentas. At a still later age Vohu Manah is represented as supplying the new arrivals in heaven with gold-embroidered robes and golden thrones while material comforts are purveyed by the Fravashis.<sup>79</sup> All the Amesha Spentas are represented as coming down to the oblations in a shining pathway<sup>80</sup> as befitting dwellers of the region of light in whose presence, later writers tell us, Zarathustra fails to see his own shadow.<sup>81</sup>

Further deterioration of the ethical side of the Amesha Spentas takes place during the Pahlavi period although their spiritual character does not disappear altogether. Thus, while their beneficent nature is emphasised by the belief that they form an assembly three times every day in the fire-temple

<sup>75</sup> Vend. 19.20-5. See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 101. The Pahlavi explanation is different.—See SBE, IV, p. 210, n.6; p. 211, n. 1-4.

<sup>76</sup> Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, pp. 190, 409; *Tr. Mag.*, p. 79. Benveniste (*op. cit.*, p. 63 f) equates Omanes with Verethraghna; see the whole discussion there. See also Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, pp. 49, 52; Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 81.

<sup>77</sup> Vend. 19.31. In Vend. 7.52 Ahura Mazdah is represented as welcoming him. See Cassartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 72, for Sassanian belief.

See Bahman Yasht.

<sup>78</sup> See Moulton, *Tr. Mag.*, p. 76 in this connection.

<sup>79</sup> See Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, pp. 179, 277; also Yt. 22.18 where the oil of Zaremaya (spring-butter) is supplied to the soul at the command of Ahura Mazdah.

<sup>80</sup> Yt. 13.84; 19.17.

<sup>81</sup> See the reference in Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 226; see also C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

and “ shed good works and righteousness around for the advantage of the devout votaries that frequent the sacred places,” it is maintained at the same time that the prayers and offerings must be performed with accuracy<sup>82</sup>—the same emphasis on formality which characterised the Vedic religion during the period of the Brāhmaṇas. They have not only special days dedicated to them but they have their favourite flowers<sup>83</sup> and also their special domains or elements to protect, namely, men, animals, fire, metal, earth, water and plants.<sup>84</sup> Woe unto him who observes the virtues that they represent but fails to take care of the concrete things that are under their special charge! To quote Dhalla:<sup>85</sup> “ Vohuman, for instance, as the genius of good mind, did not emphasize the faithful adherence to good thoughts, but contented himself with reminding the prophet to teach mankind to take care of his cattle. Artavahisht, the genius of Righteousness, gave no command to Zaratusht to exhort men to follow the path of Righteousness, but taught him that the best way of propitiating the heavenly spirit was to propitiate his fire.” Dhalla refers in this connection to a Pazand penitential prayer of the 4th century A.D. in which the penitent “ craves forgiveness for any offence that may have been committed by ill-treating the earthly object over which the genius presides ” but no mention is made of the offence against the abstract virtue over which the archangel in question presides. The horror of defiling the elements<sup>86</sup> as also a considerable lapse from spirituality in worship naturally arose out of this attitude of mind. In fact, the material association had a repercussion upon the nature of the Amshaspands themselves, for we are told that they assumed visible forms and came to the

<sup>82</sup> See Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 227.

<sup>83</sup> See Modi, *op. cit.*, pp. 396-7. The cock is the favourite bird of Vohuman (see Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 74).

<sup>84</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 227. These are supposed to have been revealed to Zoroaster in separate visions by the archangels.—See Jackson, *Zoroaster*, pp. 46-9. See also p. 50 for conference with Haoma and other angels.

<sup>85</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 196; see Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

<sup>86</sup> See Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, pp. 233, 234.

court of King Gushtāsp (Vīštāspa) as envoys of Ormazd to certify the divine mission of Zoroaster,<sup>87</sup> just as they had once descended to convey to earth the Fravashi of the Prophet on a stem of the Hom-plant and to his mother his material essence mixed with milk.<sup>88</sup> Nay, when Zoroaster met Vohuman, he could accurately notice his gigantic size, his face, and his dress; even his wide steps did not escape the notice of the Prophet when being led to the council of the Amshaspands.<sup>89</sup> The Farvardin Yasht had told of the fine body of the Fravashi of Ahura Mazdah and of the beautiful and active forms wherewith he clothed the Amesha Spentas:<sup>90</sup> popular imagination took the matter in the way usual to it all the world over—it materialised the conception as thoroughly as circumstances would permit.<sup>91</sup>

It is doubtful, however, if the Amesha Spentas would have been materialised so far had not the conception of the Yazatas been developed in the meantime. Reference has already been made to the fact that the craving for familiar contact with the spiritual powers partially rehabilitated the pre-Zoroastrian polytheism albeit in close alliance with the Prophet's own religion. When spirits rule each department of nature and each spiritual quality, their number must be very large. Although about forty only are mentioned in the Avestan texts, "they are numbered by hundreds and by thousands and by hundreds of thousands, nay even more."<sup>92</sup> Some of them have come down from Indo-Iranian times—Mithra, Airyaman, Haoma, Verethraghna, Pārendi, Rātā(?), Nairyosangha, Apam Napāt, Ushah and Vayu can be easily

<sup>87</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, pp. 196, 229; Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 47; *Zoroaster*, pp. 58, 65. Ashavahishto and the Propitious Fire (Būrzhiin-Mitrō) accompany Vohuman.

<sup>88</sup> See Jackson, *Zoroaster*, pp. 24-5.

<sup>89</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, pp. 196, 228; Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 41.

<sup>90</sup> Yt. 13. 80-1.

<sup>91</sup> As an illustration of materialisation may be cited the attribute 'swiftest chargers' given to the Amesha Spentas in the Gathas (Ys. 50. 7) and its transformation in the Persian *Zartūst Nāmāh* into the statement that they rode upon wonderful horses.—See Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 47.

<sup>92</sup> See Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 96; Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 55; also Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 7f

identified by their Vedic names<sup>93</sup> and are mostly nature-gods. But there were others of Iranian growth, some spiritual and some natural in origin, of only a few of whom Vedic parallels are known: these are Ātar, Ardvī Sūrā Anāhitā, Hvarekhshaeta, Maonghah, Tishtrya, Drvāspā, Sraosha, Rashnu, Rāman, Daenā, Chisti, Erethe, Rasanstāt, Ashi Vanghuhī, Arshtāt, Asmān, Zamyat, Manthra Spenta, Dāmoish Upamana and Anaghra Raochāo.<sup>94</sup> Very often the personification is thin and the worship lapses from the adoration of the presiding spirits to that of the natural elements themselves;<sup>95</sup> and regarding a few of them details are exceedingly scanty. They are of both sexes, the sex depending generally upon the type of work or virtue represented.<sup>96</sup> Some of them, again, go together on account of functional affinity and form dual Yazatas. To quote Dhalla;<sup>97</sup> "Mithra as the sovereign lord of wide pastures forms a pair with Ahura; as the lord of light, he works in consort with Hvarekhshaeta, the genius of light; as the lord of truth, he works in company with Rashnu; and as the lord of plenty and prosperity, he enters into comradeship with Raman. The more prominent of the dual divinities are Ahura-Mithra, Hvarekhshaeta-Mithra, Mithra-Rashnu, Mithra-Raman, Rashnu-Arshtat, Raman-Vayu, Daena-Chisti, Ashi Vanghuhi-Parendi and Asman-Zamyat." If the last be taken as the Iranian equivalent of the Vedic Dyāvā-prthivī and Rashnu-Arshtāt and Daenā-Chisti be excepted, it is interesting to note that in the above list an Iranian and a Vedic god are paired together, possibly to indicate what Iranian Yazata should be taken as equivalent or allied to what pre-Zoroastrian deity, and that Mithra's pre-eminence in popular favour is shown by the fact that at least four Iranian gods are needed to take over his different

<sup>93</sup> See Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 96. Some Vedic gods like Indra, Sarva, Nāsatya, etc., have become demons in Zoroastrianism.

<sup>94</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 97.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>96</sup> This step falsified the description of Diogenes that the Magi condemn the use of images, and especially the error of those who attribute to the divinities difference of sex.—See Moulton, *Tr. Mag.*, p. 99.

<sup>97</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 99; also p. 105.

functions, indicating thereby his past glory and presaging his future greatness in the Mithraic cult. It is well known that when Mahāyāna Buddhism was developed, a similar identification of the new Buddhistic deities with the old Hindu gods also took place and that when Mithraism began to spread in the West a similarity between Greek and Iranian deities was established, as of Zeus and Ormazd, Apollo and Mithra, Verethraghna and Herakles.<sup>98</sup>

The whole theory of Yazatas (Izads) was brought into relation with Zoroastrianism in a number of ways. The Yazatas are the creatures of Ahura (some like Ātar being regarded as his children, just as Vohu Manah, Asha and Armaiti were in the Gāthās),<sup>99</sup> and they transmit his will to mankind and assist him in the maintenance of his creation. They are divided into two classes—spiritual and material. Ahura Mazdah is the greatest and the best of the Yazatas and is at the head of the heavenly division, while Zarathustra is the chief of the earthly Yazatas.<sup>100</sup> Then, again, the Amesha Spentas are recognised as higher in the spiritual hierarchy, and in the Persian Calendar the first seven days of the month are dedicated to Ahura Mazdah and the Amshaspands and the last 23 days are dedicated to the Yazatas.<sup>101</sup> The Zoroastrian litanies (Nyaishes) began with a homage to Ahura Mazdah and sometimes to the Amshaspands also. In later times was propounded the theory of *Hamkār*, according to which the Yazatas were supposed to be the collaborators, auxiliaries or fellow-workers of Ormazd and the Amshaspands, the assignment being to Ahura Mazda Dai pa Adar, Dai pa Mihir and Dai pa Din; to Vohu Manah (Bahman), Maonghah

<sup>98</sup> See ERE. iv. 754; Moulton, *Eur. Zor.*, p. 107. Jackson, *Zor. St.*, p. 172. The reference is to the inscription of Antiochus I of Commagene (69-38 B.C.).

<sup>99</sup> See Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, pp. 21, 134. C. de Harlez rightly points out, however, that "often the influence of monotheism is visible only in the addition to the name of a spirit of the epithet Mazda dhāta (created by Mazda), made with a view to subordinate the former to the power of the supreme master" (*Op. cit.*, p. 122). Moulton compares the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox systems with the Parsi religion in this respect. (*Tr. Mag.*, p. 100.)

<sup>100</sup> Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 56; Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, pp. 96-7.

<sup>101</sup> Modi, *op. cit.*, pp. 397, 481; ERE. iii. 123 f. For the significance of the various days of the month, see Karaka, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 134-44.

(Māh or Mohor), Geush urvan (Goshūrūn or Gosh) and Rāma Hvāstra (Rām); to Asha Vahishta (Ardibehesht), Ātar (Ādar), Sraosha (Srosh) and Verethraghna (Bahrām);<sup>102</sup> to Khshathra Vairya (Shatravar or Shahrēvar), Hvarekhshaeta (Khurshed), Mithra (Meher or Mihr), Asmān and Anaghra Raochāo (Anērān); to Spenta Ārmaiti (Spandārmad), Apam Napāt (Ābān), Daenā (Dīn), Ashi Vanghuhī (Ashisang or Ard) and Manthra Spenta (Māhraspand or Mārespand); to Haurvatāt (Khordād), Tishtrya (Tīr), the Fravashis (Farvardin or Ardāfarosh) and Vāta (Bād or Guad); and to Ameretāt (Amardād or Murdād), Rashnu Razishta (Rashn), Arshtāt (Āstad) and Zam (Zamyād).<sup>103</sup> But, as has been pointed out above, although in theory pre-eminence belonged to the Amshaspands, in practice the hymns of praise went mostly to the Yazatas. In animal sacrifice during the Pahlavi period, we are told, all the important parts of the slaughtered animal went to the different Īzads (Yazatas) until at last the tail-bone fell to the lot of the august Farohar of Zaratusht and the great archangels had to content themselves merely with

It is interesting to know that every week originally began with Ahura Mazda. In the present Parsi Calendar the first, second and third weeks begin with him or one of his co-adjutors (see Modi, *op. cit.*, p. 486). As the third and fourth weeks were of 8 days each, the 23rd day is dedicated to another auxiliary of Ahura Mazda. A further point of interest is that these auxiliaries have been eclipsed by the Yazatas that come next—Ātar, Mithra and Daena, three of the principal Yazatas of Parsism (see SBE. XXIII, p. 6, n. 11) of whom Ātar is the son of Ahura Mazda, Mithra (also Tishtrya—see Ys. 8.25) is a God invoked by his own name and Daena is the Good Law of the Mazdayasnians (see Sirozah I.9, 16, 24 and Sirozah II.9, 16, 24). Nadershah (quoted in ERE. iii. 129) points out that "this order of the names depends on Ys. 16.3-6 and comprises four groups, containing respectively the Amshaspands, the seven planets, moral objects and religious objects, each headed by the supreme god Ormazd." (See also ERE. iii. 130 for loan from the Persian by other Calendars.) See Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 126.

<sup>102</sup> At the present day Parsis are particularly expected to visit the fire-temple on the first (Hormuzd), third (Ardibehesht), ninth (Ādar), seventeenth (Sarosh) and twentieth (Behram) days of each month. With the exception of the first the rest are associated with Asha Vahishta and his auxiliaries.

<sup>103</sup> Modi, *op. cit.*, p. 390, n. 2; p. 486. The collaboration was extended to the Yazatas among themselves.—See Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 63. Although a few are mentioned, the collaborators of the Yazatas are included in many cases. Thus Daena here includes Chisti; Apam Napāt, Ardvī Sūrā Anāhitā; and so on. See Sirozah I and II.

the residue.<sup>104</sup> Nay, as has been noted above, in their enthusiasm to extol the powers of these angels the theological writers of the later Avestan period went to the length of representing Ahura Mazda as sacrificing unto these Yazatas and asking for their boons. They want, in fact, to be invoked by their own names to command greater reverence among the people at large and the Nyaishes are sung in honour of the four prominent members of their group—the Sun,<sup>105</sup> Moon, Water and Fire.

Reference has already been made to the iconic worship of Anāhita by Artaxerxes Mnemon (B.C. 404-358). Her inclusion within the pantheon did not indeed spread idolatry,<sup>106</sup> but possibly it was of a piece with the belief that some of the Yazatas could assume various shapes in order to carry out their allotted duties. Thus Tishtrya, Verethraghna, Dahmā Afriti (the Spirit of Divine Blessing) and Dāmoish Upamana (the Spirit of Curse) were pictured as assuming the forms of man, horse, camel, boar, etc.<sup>107</sup> They seem to suffer at the same time from the imperfection which multiplicity involves, for they actively seek praise and sacrifice.<sup>108</sup> They also indicate their preferences, which include not only vegetarian diet but also animal flesh of different kinds, against which cruel practice the Prophet had raised his mighty voice of protest. It appears that, like the *pitrs* and some of the Vedic gods of India, these Yazatas are maintained in strength by regular offerings, for we are told that it is only when Ahura Mazda offered to Tishtrya a sacrifice, which men had not done in proper time, that he gained sufficient strength to overthrow Apaosha, the demon of drought.<sup>109</sup> It appears further that although Ahura Mazda is not jealous when oblations are offer-

<sup>104</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 238.

<sup>105</sup> There are Nyaishes in honour of both Mithra and Khurshed.

Mithra (Mihra) is the angel of light considered independently of the Sun (Khurshed). He precedes the Sun and shows himself on the earth even after sunset.—See C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

<sup>106</sup> Reference has already been made to the image of Vohu Manah.

<sup>107</sup> See Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, pp. 81, 113, 128. Verethraghna had himself assumed ten forms (Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 114).

<sup>108</sup> See Yt. 5. 8; Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 98.

<sup>109</sup> Yt. 8. 24-8; see Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 130.



ed to the Yazatas, these are jealous of one another for Tishtrva and Mithra complain that men do not sacrifice to them as much as they do to other Yazatas.<sup>110</sup> As in Hinduism, there is also latent the idea that service must be mutual,<sup>111</sup> although it is conceded at the same time that in order to be entitled to the boons of the god worshipped it is enough to please him or her by thought, word and deed and that it is not always necessary to beg expressly for them.<sup>112</sup> During the Pahlavi period a belief in the active beneficence of the Yazatas was widely held and their assistance in knowing God and making moral progress was freely recognised.<sup>113</sup> But probably the Younger Avestan tradition that they and the Fravashis are offended when not sacrificed unto and then they are merciless and difficult to deal with did not completely die out in later belief.<sup>114</sup>

It would be tedious to go through the detailed functions of the Yazatas or of the daevas to whom they are opposed; but we shall attempt a summary of their names with the most important function of each just to show that similarity with Vedic belief was close even to the length of the personification of abstract virtues and the religious veneration paid to scriptures, formulae, symbols and materials. A glance at Yasnas 1 and 70 will show the heterogeneous grouping of the spirits worshipped,<sup>115</sup> which called forth the caricature and condemnation of Christian missionaries.<sup>116</sup> In fact, a whole book, the Visparad, is dedicated to all the *ratus* (i.e., chiefs or lords of the ritual) together, and the various Yashts, though primarily intended to celebrate the glories and sing the praises of individual Yazatas, also adore groups of divinities having affinity with one another, the only relieving feature of much

<sup>110</sup> Yt. 8. 24; see Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, pp. 97, 130.

<sup>111</sup> See, for instance, Atash Nyaish, 15-16 (Dhalla, *The Nyaishes*, pp. 179, 181). Cf. Ys. 62. 4-6, 9.

<sup>112</sup> Yt. 8. 49; see Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 137.

<sup>113</sup> See Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, pp. 236-8 for Srosh; p. 241 for Khurshed.

<sup>114</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 79.

<sup>115</sup> In the SBE edition.

<sup>116</sup> See Wilson, *The Parsi Religion*, pp. 261-7; Moulton, *Tr. Mag.*, pp. 59-62.

of the monotonous recital being a constant reference to the ethical aspects of the divinities concerned and also to the moral aspirations of the worshipper and his determination to stick to the holy Mazdayasnian religion and to abjure the Principle (and Emissaries) of Evil.

First in order of importance are the Spirits of the Physical World—practically the very gods whom Zarathustra sought to supersede and suppress. There was Fire,<sup>117</sup> worshipped by the Indo-Iranians, the earthly symbol of celestial brilliance. Zarathustra had retained the fire-altar in his reformed religion; but it became in his system not the mouth of the gods (Agni) but the purest symbol of Ahura Mazda (Ātar) and a protege of Right (Asha Vahishta).<sup>118</sup> The light of fire was ever kept burning in the fire-altars or fire-temples, and wilful or careless extinction or pollution of the sacred flame became a heinous sin, entailing great misery to the offending soul. *Nairyosangha* (Nēryosangh), probably a personification of the altar-flame like the Vedic *Narāśansa*, figures as the messenger of Ahura Mazda; but his history is almost forgotten while Ātar is described in details in the fivefold form<sup>119</sup> in which he exists in the earth (*herezisavah* or *Bahrām*), animates human and animal bodies (*vohufryāna*), keeps up circulation in vegetables (*urvāzishta*), forms the stuff of the lightning (*vāzishta*), and constitutes the body of Ormazd (*spenishta*).<sup>120</sup> On Ātar was fastened the analogue of the Indra-Vṛtra myth of India, for in his lightning form he vanquishes *Spenjaghri*, the storm demon, associated with *Apaosha*, the demon of drought.<sup>121</sup> He is also manifested in

<sup>117</sup> See C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 146 f.; Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 184 f.

<sup>118</sup> See C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, pp. 333 f., 337 f. (for the distinction between Agni and Ātar). See Söderblom, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

<sup>119</sup> See Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 99 f., for classification of Fire into those for priests (Ātūr Farnbag), warriors (Ātūr Gūshnasp) and the labouring class (Ātūr Būrzhiñ Mi'rō). For their location, see Huart, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

<sup>120</sup> Ys. 17.11 recounts them all together. See C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 148; Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 42; Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 57.

<sup>121</sup> Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, pp. 96, 119; C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 162; see Vend. 19.40.

the form of the *hvarenah* which represents the splendour and glory of priests and kings and the departure of which is caused by disobedience to religious prescriptions.<sup>122</sup> Two minor associates are *Airyaman* (Aërmān), the arm of Asha Vahishta, the guardian of fire, and *Shaoka*, the light of wood or oil.<sup>123</sup> The *Ātar Nyāish* contains the litany of Fire in which boons are asked and expected of the carefully tended fire and the fire-temple is treated to all intents and purposes as a daily rendezvous of the Amesha Spentas who form the highest creation of Ahura Mazdah.<sup>124</sup>

Light primarily belongs to the celestial bodies—the Sun, the Moon and the stars, and also to the heavenly regions.<sup>125</sup> Light as independently conceived is personified as *Mithra*<sup>126</sup> who was wrongly identified at a later time with the Sun for whom the Persians had another name *Hvarekhshaēta* (Khurshed).<sup>127</sup> Mithra is the lord of wide pasturage; as he drives out the daevas from their dark abodes everywhere, he is the strongest, the most valiant, the most victorious and a war-lord of powerful arms, driving along in a high-wheeled chariot drawn by four celestial swiftly-moving white horses.<sup>128</sup> He promotes

<sup>122</sup> Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 57; see esp. C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-58, and Sir J. J. Madressa *Jubilee Vol.*, pp. 159-66 (*Hvareno-Tyche-God-Fortuna-Divine Grace*).

*Qāreno* (*hvarenah*) is shed on the world of Ahura Mazdah from above and invests some of the good spirits with celestial splendour. See ERE. viii. 754. In Yt. 10.16 Mithra rides through all the Karshvars (the seven regions of the world according to the Iranians comparable with the "seven islands" of the Hindu belief), bestowing the *hvareno* (SBE, XXIII, p. 123, n.5). See also Yt. 10.27; 19.34 f.

<sup>123</sup> C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

<sup>124</sup> Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

<sup>125</sup> Special reference should be made in this connection to Ys. 36.

<sup>126</sup> For Mithra, see Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, pp. 103-11; 239-40; ERE. viii. 758, art. MITHRAISM; Benveniste, *op. cit.*, p. 53 f; Geiger, *op. cit.*, I, Int., pp. lv-lviii; Huart, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-16; D. M. Madan, *op. cit.*, Lect. III (he takes Mithra as a symbol of love and union and also of justice and moral law).

<sup>127</sup> Madan, *op. cit.*, pp. 72, 74. In Pahlavi literature Mithra is the hamkār or associate of the Sun, Hvare Khshaeta. See Madan, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

<sup>128</sup> This must be the cause of his popularity with the Roman soldiers who became ardent followers of Mithraism later on. Yt. 10.11 is a typical passage: "Whom the horsemen worship on the back of their horses, begging swiftness for their teams, health for their own bodies, and that they may watch with full success those who hate them, smite down their foes, and destroy at one stroke their

the flow of waters, the growth of plants, the increase of flock and the abundance of joyful life, whence his association with *Rāman Khvāstra* (Hvāstra), the genius of the joy of earthly life.<sup>129</sup> He is at the same time the most glorious of all the spiritual Yaratias and Ahura Mazda has created him to be as worthy of sacrifice and prayer as himself; for like Ahura Mazda, Mithra is omniscient, 'a eluet in assemblies, pleased with prayer,' and from his elysian abode on Mount Hara Berezañti, "where neither night nor darkness, nor cold wind nor hot wind, nor sickness, impurity, death and clouds can ever reach," he surveys the doings of men with his thousand senses and ten thousand sleepless eyes<sup>130</sup> and he can never be deceived. He is therefore associated with Ahura (who is sometimes represented as offering him sacrifice) and the boons asked of him are so varied and comprehensive that the small association with the Zoroastrian cult fails to hide the fact that Mithra practically replaces, at least equals, Ahura Mazda in popular estimation.<sup>131</sup> "Grant us these boons which we beg of thee, O powerful god! in accordance with the words of revelation, namely, riches, strength, and victory, good conscience and bliss, good fame and a good soul; wisdom and the knowledge that gives happi-

adversaries, their enemies, and those who hate them." See also Yt. 10.21, 35 f, 67-8

Modi suggests (*Anthropological Papers*, p. 173 f.—esp. p. 179 f) that St. Michael killing the dragon borrowed his features not from Volu Manah but from Mithra.

<sup>129</sup> See SBE, IV, Int., p. lxiv: *Rāman Hvāstra*, which originally meant "the god of the resting place with good pastures" (meaning the atmospheric air where the clouds rest like a herd of cows), ultimately came to mean through a mistake in language "the god who gives a good flavour to aliments."

<sup>130</sup> Yt. 10.7 (Cf. RV. iii. 59). In Yt. 20.24 he is described as 'he, of the ten thousand spies, the powerful, all-seeing, undeceivable Mithra.'

The figure 9999 is the Parsi expression for 'innumerable,' e.g., the Fravashis guarding the seed of Zoroaster. Ten thousand is probably a round number for 9999.

'Thousand senses' is replaced by 'thousand ears' in some translations to indicate that no prayer sincerely offered escapes his notice.

Yt. 10.45 refers to the eight spies of Mithra presumably occupying the eight points of the compass (see SBE, XXIII, p. 130, n.3).

<sup>131</sup> It is interesting to note that "the fire-temple, where the sacred religious rites are performed, is called the Dar-i-Meher, i.e., the door or the gateway of Meher or Mithra."—Modi, *Anthropological Papers*, p. 189.

ness, the victorious strength given by Ahura, the crushing Ascendant of Asha-Vahishta, and conversation (with God) on the Holy Word. Grant that we, in a good spirit and high spirit, exalted in joy and a good spirit, may smite all our foes, .....all our enemies.....all the malice of Daevas and Men, of the Yātus and Pairikās,<sup>132</sup> of the oppressors, the blind and the deaf (the Kavis and Karapans).''<sup>133</sup> Nay, it is expressly stated in Yasht 10.92 that "the holy Ahura Mazda confessed that religion and so did Vohu-Mano, so did Asha-Vahishta, so did Khshathra-Vairya, so did Spentā-Ārmaiti, so did Haurvatāt and Ameretāt; and all the Amesha-Spentas longed for and confessed his religion."''<sup>134</sup> But, as the god of light, Mithra is not only a witness of men's deeds; he conveys the offered gifts to the House of Praise<sup>135</sup> and comes down when deeds of charity are performed;<sup>136</sup> he is also the protector of truth and, as such, is associated in later theology with *Rashnu*, "the most upright," in the work of assessing the deeds of the departed at the Chinvat Bridge.<sup>137</sup> Woe unto those who lie unto Mithra and break their compact whether with one of the unfaithful or with one who professes the true faith!<sup>138</sup> As one who is so beneficent to the living

<sup>132</sup> *Yātus* are wizards and black magicians (possibly human) while *Pairikās* (Parsi *Peris*) are supernatural enchantresses with seductive appearance.-- Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, pp. 103-4.

<sup>133</sup> Yt. 10.58-9; also 98-4.

<sup>134</sup> Yt. 10.92. Immediately after, however, Zoroastrianism asserts itself and we are told "The kind Mazda conferred upon him the mastership of the world." See C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-1.

<sup>135</sup> Yt. 10.82.

<sup>136</sup> Madan, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

<sup>137</sup> In Yt. 10.41 (and 100) *Rashnu* and *Sraosha* are associated with *Mithra* in destroying those who lie unto *Mithra* and kill faithful men. For the associates of *Mithra* in routing enemies, see Yt. 10.52, 66, 100, 126, 127. See C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 155, as to the alleged mediating function of *Mithra*; also Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 240; Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 79. Madan (*op. cit.*, p. 89) remarks that "whereas the sentiment in the Avestic representation of *Mithra* is that of love, the sentiment underlying *Mithra* as he is depicted in the Pahlavi writings is that of awe and fear."

<sup>138</sup> Yt. 10.2. Reference has already been made to *Mitra* who, with some other Vedic gods, is mentioned in the Boghaz-keui inscription in a formal treaty between the Hittites and the Mitannis. G. F. Moore, remarking on the passage, says, "Perjury is as bad as a hundred heresies—an extraordinary triumph of ethics over orthodoxy." (*His. of Rel.*, I, p. 394.)

and so powerful over the destinies of the dead, Mithra inspired a religious awe and devotion which no other Yazata ever did.

Naturally associated with Mithra, who was latterly identified with him, is *Hvarekhshaēta*, "the brilliant sun," worshipped for his power to drive away darkness, impurity, disease and death.<sup>139</sup> As in the Vedic religion, the Sun could be only imperfectly personified and the poet of the *Mihr Yasht* often lapses in his adoration from the swift-horsed angel of the Sun to the rolling disc of the visible orb. He is the eye of Ahura Mazda,<sup>140</sup> possibly also his visible form. To please him is to please Ahura Mazda and the rest of the good spirits.<sup>141</sup> In Pahlavi speculation Khurshed (*Hvarekhshaēta*) is represented as delivering to man the morning message of zeal in doing works of merit, the noon-day message of rearing up a family and furthering the Kingdom of Ormazd by social co-operation and service, and the evening message of repentance with a view to obtaining pardon for sin. Like the Sun, the Moon, *Maonghah* or *Māh*,<sup>142</sup> is very imperfectly divinised and his bounties are copied from those of Mithra in a single verse.<sup>143</sup> He is credited with the power of stimulating the growth of plants and preserving the seed of the primeval Bull, the progenitor of the animal world. During his waning period Tishtrya and his three stellar associates fight against Ahriman and during his waxing period they are relieved by him.<sup>144</sup> His ethical side was emphasised during the Pahlavi period when he was regarded as collecting for fifteen days the good deeds of earthly beings and the rewards for their virtue from the heavens and using the next fifteen days in transmitting the former to the heavens and the latter to

<sup>139</sup> See Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 126; C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, pp. 154, 335 f.

<sup>140</sup> *Sūrya* is similarly compared to the eye of this or that god (*Mitra*, *Varuṇa*, *Aryaman*, *Agni*). See Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 23, 30, 32; also p. 27 for comparison with Avestan ideas.

<sup>141</sup> *Yt.* 6.4.

<sup>142</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 127; C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

<sup>143</sup> *Yt.* 7.5.

<sup>144</sup> *SBE*, XXIII, p. 89, n.5.

the earth.<sup>145</sup> *Ushah* (Vedic *Uṣas*), the goddess of Dawn, is also known to the Iranian priest-poets, and though the delineation is less firm as compared with that of the Vedas, she has a number of auxiliaries, one of whom (*Ushahina*) has given his name to one of the five parts of the day (*gāhs*).<sup>146</sup>

In order to appreciate the importance and adoration of the stars it is necessary to remember that very early in the history of the human race the position of certain stars indicated the advent of certain changes in nature and that poetic imagination turned these natural phenomena into fables in lands widely separated from one another. This stellar mythology is independent of the theory of stellar influence on human destinies. In Iran the leading rôle is played by *Tishtrya* (*Tīr*)<sup>147</sup> who, with *Vanant*, *Satavaēsa* and *Hapto-iringa*,<sup>148</sup> guards the four quarters of the sky against the battalions of *Ahriman* (including the planets which bear divine names but are really evil)<sup>149</sup> and who rises victorious after defeating *Apaosha* (*Aposh*), the demon of drought who seeks to prevent his access to the waters of the celestial sea *Vourukasha*, and also *Duzhyāirya* (*Dushiyāra*), the demon of barrenness and bad year, who seeks to prevent the germination of the seeds that he drops with the released

<sup>145</sup> SBE. XXIII. p. 89, n.4.

<sup>146</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 128; also *Gāh Ushahin*. The two other auxiliaries are *Bereja* and *Nmānya*. See also Geiger, *op. cit.*, I, p. 154 f. for the *gāhs* and their presiding Spirits.

<sup>147</sup> See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, pp. 23 f. and 435. He suggests that *Tīra* was distinct from *Tishtrya* and used to represent the planet Mercury. Its identification with Sirius was due to the pre-eminence of this star in the Magian system (p. 402). He also quotes the opinion of Mrs. Maunder that probably by *Tishtrya* the Sun was meant. He is personally in favour of the view that the *Tishtrya* myth originated in India and was carried to Iran by an ebb tide of the Aryan emigration to India. Benveniste connects it with Zervanism (*op. cit.*, p. 100).

<sup>148</sup> The identification is difficult. While *Tishtrya* and *Hapto-iringa* have been identified more or less satisfactorily with Sirius and the Great Bear respectively, *Vanant* and *Satavaesa* have been tentatively identified with Vega and Fomalhaut respectively. See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 23 f.; Geiger, *op. cit.*, I, p. 141.

<sup>149</sup> Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 99; Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 106; see esp. Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, pp. 211-4. Bousset sees in this a hostility to the Babylonian star-cult—the planets were degraded by the Magi just as the *Daevas* had been by Zoroaster. See Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 213, n.1; Geiger, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 135-142.

waters of the celestial sea.<sup>150</sup> Tishtrya complains of the indifference of men to his worship, which was responsible for his initial defeat at the hands of Apaosha, and it is only when Ahura Mazdah himself offers him a sacrifice that he wins the fight. Like Mithra, he too is credited with the power to grant a variety of boons to men. Reference has already been made to the fact that the innumerable unnamed stars were regarded as Fravashis; the named stars were supposed to have fravashis of their own.

The spirits of the air are represented by at least four angels. Vayu or personified air,<sup>151</sup> being conceived as permeated by the luminous rays of the celestial bodies, is characterised as shining, with arms, ornaments, garments and chariot all golden. He is approached even by Ahura Mazdah for boons, not to talk of the kings and heroes that approach him for favour. But the personification is thin, and although he is given nearly fifty titles, "almost all of these attributes of Vayu are derived from the function of Vayu as wind, rather than from his activity as the genius of wind."<sup>152</sup> Because of his association with the physical atmosphere where the forces of good and evil contend for mastery (reinforced no doubt by the experience of both the beneficent and the ruinous activity of the element itself), Vayu is regarded as going both through the world which the Good Spirit has made and through the one which the Evil Spirit has made—a conception which was amplified later on by the idea of a neutral void (Vāi) between Ormazd and Ahriman and of Good Fate and Bad Fate (originating in the two spheres of Vayu) struggling for the possession of the soul of the righteous at the Chinvat Bridge.<sup>153</sup> Vāta is even less personified than Vayu and represents the lower air touching the

<sup>150</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, pp. 129, 241; C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-6. The seeds apparently come from the mythical tree Hvāpī which stands in the midst of Vourukasha. See Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, pp. 118-9.

<sup>151</sup> C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 158; Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 182 f.

<sup>152</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 183.

<sup>153</sup> Yt. 15.48. SBE, IV, Intr., pp. lxiv-v; C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 159; Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, pp. 61, 95; see also Vend. 5.8, 9.



earth and swifter-moving.<sup>154</sup> Like Vayu he is at once a holy angel and an evil storm-demon.<sup>155</sup> *Rāma Hvāstra*, sometimes distinguished from and sometimes identified with his *Ḥamkār*, Vayu,<sup>156</sup> and sometimes also associated with Mithra, is the genius of the enjoyment of earthly life, to whom we owe the savouriness of food. By far the most interesting, however, of the spirits of the air is *Verethraghna*, the Vedic *Vṛtrahan* with a completely altered function.<sup>157</sup> He is a creature of Ahura Mazda and is the most courageous in courage, the most victorious in victory, the most glorious in glory, the most favouring in favour, the best giver of welfare, and the most healing in health-giving<sup>158</sup>—therefore, one of the most popular national divinities of Iran in the Sassanian times. He is the god of victory in all fields and is worshipped as such by the civil and the military population alike. He appeared to Zarathustra in ten different forms. In his worship the rules of extreme purity must be observed. The storm-association of the Vedic god has almost entirely disappeared from the Iranian *Verethraghna* and only faint allusions to the wind and the aspect of fertilisation are to be found in the *Bahrām Yasht* dedicated to him. In fact, he appears more as the personification of the abstract virtue of victory (including successful defence) than as the victorious angel that releases the waters and makes the soil below fertile.

In a mythology where the release of the celestial waters (on which the growth of plants and the fertility of the soil and indirectly, therefore, the life of the whole human and animal race depend) plays such an important part, it is no wonder that divine honours would be paid to waters.<sup>159</sup> The personification depended upon a double association—their

<sup>154</sup> C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 159. In the *Rigveda* also "Vāyu is chiefly the god and Vāta the element."—See Macdonell, *Vedic Myth.*, p. 81.

<sup>155</sup> Vend. 19.13; 10.14.

<sup>156</sup> C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-9.

<sup>157</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 112 f.; see esp. C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 159 f. and Geiger, *op. cit.*, I, Int., li; Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 60; Macdonell, *Ved. Myth.*, p. 66.

<sup>158</sup> Yt. 14.8.

<sup>159</sup> See Ys. 83.

origin in the celestial clouds and their manifestation in terrestrial streams, lakes, etc. The close association of water with fertility and growth was responsible for the preponderatingly feminine trait present in the personification of the waters. *Ardvi Sūra Anāhita* was imported from abroad and her cult must have been very popular, judging by the graphic description of her form<sup>160</sup> and the characteristic Iranian conception that even Ahura Mazdah had offered oblations to her.<sup>161</sup> She was supposed to purify the seeds of men and the wombs of women, to make delivery easy, to put milk into the mothers' breasts and, like the other noted Yazatas, to grant a variety of boons, mostly temporal in character.<sup>162</sup> Her closest Vedic parallel would be Sarasvatī;<sup>163</sup> but Anāhita is generally considered to be the heavenly spring or celestial stream that descends to the seven regions of the world and her chariot is regarded as being drawn by four white chargers, which are identified with the wind, the rain, the cloud and the sleet—better still with raining, snowing, hailing and sleeting.<sup>164</sup> She was worshipped by the side of a river or a lake with due regard to the sanctity and purity of the waters, which could not be defiled in any way. Being holy, water was supposed never to kill any one, cases of drowning being ascribed to some evil spirit like Vayu (evil wind or destiny);<sup>165</sup> the faithful were enjoined to remove floating corpses from the waters and thus prevent the defilement with infection, pollution and uncleanness by the Druj Nasu, the demon of bodily decomposition.<sup>166</sup> It appears, however, that the association with maternity was responsible

<sup>160</sup> Yt. 5.126-9. Benveniste (*op. cit.*, p. 62 f) thinks the cult to be of Babylonian origin, the ancient name of the goddess being *Ardvi*.

<sup>161</sup> C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 163 f; Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 137 f; SBE, XXIII, p. 53. See Ys. 65 and Yt. 5.

<sup>162</sup> C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 164; Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 139; Modi, *Anthrological Papers*, p. 153. See also Ys. 65.2 and Yt. 5.2.

<sup>163</sup> See the present writer's *Sarasvatī the Goddess of Learning* in K. B. Pāṭhak Memorial Volume. Geiger identifies her with the Oxus (*op. cit.*, I, Int., p. xlv; II, p. 95, fn.1).

<sup>164</sup> Yt. 5.3-4. 120. Ahura Mazdah brings the river down: see Yt. 5.6 and Vend. 5.15-9.

<sup>165</sup> Vend. 5.8.

<sup>166</sup> Vend. 6. 26-41. See *Shāyast Lā-Shāyast*, Ch. II, 76 f (SBE. V, p. 265 f).

for the identification of Anāhita (Anaitis) with the Assyrian Mylitta, corresponding to the Greek Aphrodite, the Roman Venus and the Syrian Astarte, and this probably led to nocturnal rites of a questionable character which the strict Mazdayasnians sought to prevent by laying down that all offerings made to the goddess after sunset would be unacceptable to her and would go to feed 'six hundred and a thousand Daevas.' <sup>167</sup>

The dominating figure of Anāhita has thrown into the shade two other angels of the waters whose Vedic parallels are known. *Ahurani*,<sup>168</sup> the female Yazata, stands for all the waters and roughly corresponds to the Vedic *Āpas*, regarded as wives or mothers.<sup>169</sup> In the Iranian religion the waters are sometimes regarded as the wives of Ahura and also as mothers;<sup>170</sup> at other times Ahurani is the daughter of Ahura.<sup>171</sup> She represents all the waters—the sea Vourukasha and all waters upon earth, whether standing or running, or waters of the well, or spring-waters which perennially flow, or the drippings of the rains, or the irrigations of canals:<sup>172</sup> but she must be worshipped not only with the usual material and ritualistic ingredients but also with the *Zaothras* <sup>173</sup> of good thought, word and deed in order that she may confer her varied boons (including, as is to be expected, manly offspring). The other spirit is *Apam Napāt*,<sup>174</sup> the male Yazata of the waters, whose name (*Apām Napāt*) is familiar in the Vedas and has given to the *Yasht* dedicated to *Ardvi Sūra Anāhita* the title of *Ābān Yasht*. He is general-

<sup>167</sup> Yt. 5.91, 95.

<sup>168</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 141; C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

<sup>169</sup> Macdonell, *Ved. Myth.*, p. 85. Darmesteter compares them with *gñās*, celestial wives (see Macdonell, *ibid.*, pp. 100, 117).

<sup>170</sup> Ys. 38. See, however, C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 176. In view of the fact that Ahura has nowhere a nature spouse, he suggests that Ahurani should mean 'sovereign.'

<sup>171</sup> Ys. 68.

<sup>172</sup> Ys. 68.8. Vourukasha stands either for Lake Aral or for the Caspian Sea according to Geiger (*op. cit.*, II, p. 95, f.n.1).

<sup>173</sup> Libations of holy water prepared with certain rites and prayers. See *The word Zaothra used in the Avestan Literature* by A. K. Vasavawala, in *Sir J. J. Madressa Jub. Vol.*, p. 25 f.

<sup>174</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 141; Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 56; see esp. C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 165. See Yt. 19.51-2.

ly located inside the waters (Pahlavi tradition putting him in the region of the Caspian Sea) and has many wives. His Vedic double nature—igneous (celestial fire reddening the clouds) and aqueous ('Son of the waters'), though not totally absent in the Avestan literature, is very faint and he has acquired in addition the meaning of a locality, possibly a hilly region, in the Avesta.<sup>175</sup> He is credited like Anāhita herself with the making of men and furthering the prosperity of the Ahurian lands.

The worship of the firmament and the earth returned also. The sky is not only the garment of Ahura, the battlefield of the powers of god and evil, and the seat of celestial lights, but also a Yazata himself, worshipped under the name of *Asmān* along with Paradise.<sup>176</sup> The Earth was similarly worshipped under the name of *Zām* or *Zamyāt*;<sup>177</sup> and before they came to be looked upon as disfiguring the symmetry of the Ahurian creation and destined to be levelled down at the Renovation, the mountains too received the veneration of men, the two most important ones being Ushi-dhāu Ushidarena or Oshdāshtār (the giver and keeper of understanding), the seat of holy happiness, and Hara Berezaiti, between two ridges of which was stretched the fateful Bridge of the Separator.<sup>178</sup> It is difficult to understand why in addition to *Armaiti* another spirit of the earth would be needed unless we suppose that the interest was not to provide a guardian spirit but to revive the animistic cult. Exactly for the same

<sup>175</sup> C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

<sup>176</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 128; see esp. C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, 174. The sky was regarded as a solid spherical band.

<sup>177</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 142; C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

<sup>178</sup> See Yt. 19.1 f for an enumeration of the high places known to the later Avesta. The number was fixed at 2244. See SBE. XXIII, p. 289. See also Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, p. 214; C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 218; also Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 111. Hara Berezaiti stood in the very centre of Airyana Vaejā, the first among the lands created by Mazdā.—See I. J. S. Taraporewala, *The Religion of Zarathushtra*, p. 5. Geiger thinks 'Hara-berzati to have been more than a local name' (i.e., not merely the Alburz but high mountains in general) and Airyana-vaejā to be only a semi-mythical land and, if real, to be located in Upper Ferghānāh. Ushidhāu Ushidarena (sometimes regarded as one mountain and sometimes as two) has been identified with Kūh-i Khwāja, 'Mountain of the Master,' the table-land of Seistān. (See Jackson, *Zor. St.*, p. 184; Geiger, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 98, 101-07.)

reason Ātar was needed in addition to Asha Vahishṭa and the different gods of the waters in addition to Haurvatāt. Exactly for a similar reason too, Ameretāt failed to satisfy the religious need of a god of the plant-world and Vohu Manah that of a god of the animal world; the people wanted not a guardian but a god. Hence the worship of "growing plants and forest trees" returned during the counter-reformation<sup>179</sup> although the constant epithet 'created by Ahura Mazda' served to hide the return of the animistic belief. The expanded liturgy demanded veneration for vegetation in connection with three major items—the Baresman, the sacred twig, the Haoma, the sacred drink, and the Draonah (cake or wafer-bread), the consecrated food, just as the Vedic rites demanded Barhis,<sup>180</sup> Soma and Purodāśa, and in both it is the sacred drink (Soma=Haoma) that assumed the most important position and became indispensable in certain types of worship (Yajña=Izashne or Yasna).<sup>181</sup>

The later Parsi distinction between the white or celestial *Haoma*,<sup>182</sup> made from the mythical Gaokerena (Gokard) tree belonging to the domain of Ameretāt and, therefore, appropriately enough, regarded as the source of the ambrosia that will confer immortality at the Resurrection, and the yellow or terrestrial Haoma, which is responsible for force, bodily vigour, cure of corporal ailments, and fertility, does not occur in the Avesta. The personification, again, is imperfect and the writers slip unconsciously from the sense of the angel personifying its virtues to that of the physical plant itself

<sup>179</sup> See Yt. 71.9. For the oft-quoted panegyric on cultivation which drives away demons, see Vend. 3.23 f. (See G. F. Moore, *His. of Rel.*, I, p. 395). Söderblom is of opinion that Zarathushtra himself refers not to the destruction of crops but to that of pasture (*op. cit.*, p. 226).

<sup>180</sup> See Macdonell, *Ved. Myth.*, p. 154.

<sup>181</sup> There is this important difference that "the Parsis do not sacrifice to the fire, but the Haoma as well as the consecrated *Darūn*-bread are partaken of by the priests present during the ceremony" (see *Zaota* by Prof. K. G. Geldner in *Sanjana Comm.* Vol., p. 279).

<sup>182</sup> See Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, pp. 119-122; C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 168; Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 62; ERE. vi. 506 f; see esp. Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 121 f; *Spiegel Memorial Volume*, pp. 1-11, art. *The Homa Tree and the Ten Kar-fish of the Bundahishn*, and pp. 174-180, art. *The Hóm Yasht and "The Bacchae" of Euripides: a contrast*.

Thus, a description of the habitat and physical properties of the earthly plant mingles with that of the supernatural qualities and magical virtues of the celestial plant, and in the same breath its exhilarating effect on the body and its moral influence on the soul are delineated. A story in the Paurāṇic pattern describes how the angel Haoma appeared to Zarathustra in a vision and by narrating the gifts in his power (mostly the gifts of noble sons) persuaded him to introduce his worship in Iran.<sup>183</sup> We have already referred to the myth of the Fravashi of the Prophet being conveyed to earth in a stem of the Haoma plant. As in the Vedas, Haoma's power to improve body, mind, morals and soul is described in extravagant terms, and we are told that 'heaven, health, long life, power to contend against evils, victory against enemies, and forewarnings against coming dangers from thieves, murderers and plunderers' are given by Haoma when properly worshipped but that the sinful and the malicious are cursed by him and not granted their wishes. It is very likely that, as in India in later times, the identity of the plant was lost among migrating tribes and a non-intoxicating substitute was used. As Moulton observes,<sup>184</sup> "In the period of the Yashts, which seems to have been the age of the kings, Haoma reappears in all his glory.....But we gather that the Iranian Bacchus has in the interval signed the pledge. There is no suggestion of alcohol, and Haoma is a magical, mystical drink which to all appearance is harmless enough, whether it bestowed immortality or no." There must have been a good deal of 'secondary elaboration' in Iran after the Aryan tradition was partially lost because we find that the word Haoma began to be used in a variety of senses, including that of a prophetic precursor of Zarathustra in Mazdayasnian religion.<sup>185</sup>

Apparently also, for the cattle the guardianship of Vohu Manah did not suffice; nor even *Geush Tashan* and *Geush*

<sup>183</sup> Ys. 9.

<sup>184</sup> Moulton, *Ear. Zor.*, pp. 72-3.

<sup>185</sup> See ERE. vi. 506, art. HAOMA; Modi, *Rel. Cer. and Cus. of the Parsis*, p. 300 f; *Anthropological Papers*, p. 225.

*Urvan*,<sup>186</sup> either because the former was too closely identified with Ahura Mazdah and the latter too helpless himself to be a helper or because the animistic cult required a veneration of the animals themselves. So *Drvāspā*<sup>187</sup> becomes the personified animal creation and has a Yasht dedicated to her. She looks after the health of the flocks and thereby maintains the people in comfort (whence she is called the maintainer). But as cattle constituted wealth in those days, she was credited with giving the same boons as the genius of Plenty (*Ashi Vanghuhī*).<sup>188</sup> Still, the older figures did not disappear altogether and sacrifices to Geush Urvan were enjoined.<sup>189</sup> Reference has already been made to the extensive cult of the *Fravashis*<sup>190</sup> which had apparently its origin in the deification of ancestors and which was subsequently expanded and sublimated and ceased to be the worship of the spirits of men. Though Iran had many a legend about heroes it does not appear that she paid any divine honours to them, with the exception of Zoroaster who received a kind of deification in later times<sup>191</sup> and was accordingly worshipped as the head of the earthly Yazatas and whose seeds were supposed to be preserved miraculously in the Kansaoya Lake till the three millennial prophets would be born successively in the wombs of three maidens.<sup>192</sup> It may be added that Space and Time, that play not an inconsiderable part in the cosmic drama, were also personified, but because of their abstract nature they were not officially included within the class of angels. *Zervan Akarana* (Eternity or Boundless Time) and *Zervan Daregho-Khavadhāta* (Sovereign Time of Long Dura-

<sup>186</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 125.

<sup>187</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 125; Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 58; C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

<sup>188</sup> See Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 125.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 126.

<sup>190</sup> See Jackson, *Zor. St.*, p. 59.

<sup>191</sup> See Söderblom, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

<sup>192</sup> For the advent of the millennial prophets, see West's *Introduction* in SBE, V, p. lvf; also Ch. XXX of the *Bundahish* (p. 120 f.); Jackson, *Zor. St.*, p. 285.

tion) as also *Thwāsha Khvadhāta* (Sovereign Space) are invoked along with the Yazatas.<sup>193</sup>

Thus we see that nature-religion had its full vengeance on the Zoroastrian reform inasmuch as the worship of the departmental deities, which is such a familiar feature of the Vedic religion, returned with its rituals and its festivals, not as an allegory or a mere figure of speech but as an earnest cult.<sup>194</sup> To quote C. de Harlez:<sup>195</sup> "As the Mazdaean theories postulate that the struggle between the good and the evil principle is not only a struggle in the world of morality but is also a struggle relatively traceable in things non-moral and physical, it follows that the duty of the Mazdaean is to pay honour to the whole creation of Ahura Mazda and to work for its development and its triumph, by making of it a cult. Consequently the prayers of the Avesta, the homage of the faithful, are frequently addressed to human souls in the first place, and then to the souls of animals, to the vegetable kingdom, to the springs, to the waters, to rivers, to the earth and mountains and fields, to the wind, to the visible sky, to the stars, to the invisible heavens and all its parts." The whole thing was given a Zoroastrian veneer by ascribing the origin of the revived polytheism to Zoroaster himself or by the conceit that the departmental deities were the sons or daughters or wives or creatures of Ahura Mazda (although that was partially nullified by picturing Ahura Mazda as worshipping at least some of them) or the auxiliaries of the various Amesha Spentas or by investing these spirits with ethical qualities in keeping with the main tenets of Zoroastrianism. In its various transformations the Iranian religion never for a moment let go its sheet-anchor that the gods were moral as well as beneficent and that their aid could not be expected in the execution of wicked intentions by maleficent minds, human or supernatural. The long list of evil

<sup>193</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 150; Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, pp. 64, 111 (it is in the phenomenal time of the long period that the world's history of 12,000 years takes place); C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, pp. 220, 132. See esp. Casartelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-1.

<sup>194</sup> See C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 178.



spirits<sup>196</sup> and the similarity of some of the names with Vedic titles prove that popular superstitions about the invisible physical and moral enemies of man were not forgotten during the counter-reformation; but the people always treated them as evils to be fought and conquered and never as powers to be propitiated or bought off by apotropaic rites.

But Iran did not surrender completely to the temptation of worshipping the powers of nature. Side by side with the development of nature-worship there went on a deepening of the consciousness of certain spiritual conditions of religion and favourable future destiny, and this led to the personification of certain abstract virtues after the model of the Amesha Spentas. To begin with the most worldly. *Pārendi*,<sup>197</sup> in her rapidly moving chariot and personifying bodily activity and mental alertness, became traditionally associated, like the Vedic *Puramdhi*, with buried treasure and was therefore rightly made a companion of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, on the one hand, and of Ashi Vanghuhī, the spirit of plenty, on the other. Adoration is also paid to *Shavo* and *Saokā*,<sup>198</sup> the angels of utility and welfare, to *Air-Yaman*,<sup>199</sup> the genius of health, and to *Rāma Hvāstra*, the genius of the joys of life,<sup>200</sup> and practically every important Yazata is credited with the gift of temporal blessing in addition to spiritual advancement. *Ashi Vanghuhī*,<sup>201</sup> the guardian of earthly riches, is by far the most important angel belonging to this group and takes the place of Lakṣmī, the Hindu goddess of wealth, in Parsi eyes; but in the Gāthās she represents sanctity and this association is not lost in later literature. She represents in essence "the happiness which is the reward of virtue, of obedience to the law," i.e., spiritual riches and intellectual gifts. So she is at once the

<sup>196</sup> See Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, Ch. VI. The Legions of Hell, p. 67 f.; C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 199 f; Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, Chs. XVIII, XXX.

<sup>197</sup> C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 167; Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 124.

<sup>198</sup> C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, pp. 182, 187; Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 63; Sirozah I.3; Yt. 12.4; 13.42.

<sup>199</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 119.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 114.

<sup>201</sup> C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 183; Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, pp. 43, 122; Yt. 17.

angel of plenty and the angel of piety, and Daēnā, the spirit of religion, is her sister.<sup>202</sup> She is rich in all sorts of desirable things, but her gifts are reserved for a household where the youths and maidens marry in time and the sanctity of the obligations of married life is scrupulously maintained.<sup>203</sup> She comes with all sorts of flocks, with all victory, with all intelligence, with all glory and with virtuous offspring; but she expects her temporal gifts to be shared with the deserving and the needy—"let Ashi, with fulness of welfare, follow the man who gladdens the faithful with his gifts."<sup>204</sup> Her picture is powerfully drawn and the prayer to her is fervent and lifted above all sordid selfishness by associating her with all orders of spiritual beings from Ahura Mazdah downwards. We see, therefore, that all lawful gain was encouraged and people were taught to welcome and appreciate the good things of the world provided by God.

It was a good idea to associate Spentā Armaiti with Ashi Vanghuhī, on the one hand, and with Rātā, on the other.<sup>205</sup> Poverty is responsible for so much evil not only in personal lives but also in social relations that the faithful are enjoined to adore Rātā, the genius of charity, "with the eyes of love," so that miserliness and selfish greed may not take possession of their soul. Any good that is within one's power to give should be given with grace. Thus, "if one of the faith approaches another, seeking goods, or a wife, or knowledge, the man of means should help him with goods, he should arrange for the marriage of this poor co-religionist, he should pay for his instruction in religious matters."<sup>206</sup> And the whole world knows how faithfully the Parsis have kept this prescription of their religion.

<sup>202</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 101.

<sup>203</sup> In later Persian literature (e.g., *Sad Dar*) the importance of leaving a son, natural or adopted, was as much emphasised as in Hindu Dharma Śāstras. (See Pavry, *The Zoroastrian Doctrine of a Future Life*, pp. 109-10. He refers to Ys. 62.5; Yt. 13.134.)

<sup>204</sup> Yt. 18.4-5.

<sup>205</sup> Yt. 17.16. Sirozah I.5; II.5; Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 114; Moulton, *Tr. Mag.*, p. 115.

<sup>206</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 115.

The national trait so early noted by Herodotus, *viz.*, regard for truth,<sup>207</sup> had a number of angels corresponding to its various nuances of meaning. Reference has already been made to *Mithra*, the presiding genius of contracts, compacts and truthful dealings between individuals and also between nations: a violator of agreements was a *Mithro-druj*, deceiver of Mithra. Naturally associated with him is *Rashnu*,<sup>208</sup> called 'the most just' (*razishta*), as the presiding genius of justice, for the violation of undertakings is the flouting of justice also. His vision encompasses all objects, celestial and terrestrial, and he is always present in ordeals, when invoked, to see that strict justice is done to a suspect. Thieves and disturbers of peace have most to dread from him. During the Pahlavi period, when eschatological interest increased in importance, Rashnu (*Rashn*) as the genius of justice was depicted as holding the golden scales in which the good and evil deeds of souls are weighed.<sup>209</sup> As the genius of truth, Rashnu has a female associate with the same function, namely, *Arshtāt*<sup>210</sup> who personifies rectitude and is the guide of celestial and terrestrial beings. A variant of that name is *Rasans-tāt* who is invited along with *Erethe*, another minor female angel of rectitude.<sup>211</sup> Closely related to Mithra as the god of war is *Ākhshti*, the spirit of peace. Appropriately enough,

<sup>207</sup> See Yt. 11.3; "The word of truth is the fighter that is the best of all fiend-smiters."

<sup>208</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, pp. 111, 240; C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

<sup>209</sup> See Pavry, *op. cit.*, pp. 67, 82, 89; Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 79. In *Dāstān-i-Dēnik* there are four takers of account—(1) Vohuman takes account of deeds thrice every day; (2) Mihr takes account of all promises kept or broken; (3) Rashnu (and Srosh) reckons the deeds of the departed; (4) Oharmazd takes account of all things by his omniscience at the time of the Resurrection (see Pavry, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-90).

It is interesting to note that "some of the Rabbis even taught that righteousness and wickedness were determined by the excess of good over evil actions. A balance of one good deed, they held, was sufficient to make a man righteous." See Lindsay Dewar, *Imagination and Religion*, p. 66.

<sup>210</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 112; C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 182; Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 61. Dhalla makes *Arshtāt* out to be a female angel while C. de Harlez (*Eng. Tr.*) uses the term as masculine. *Arshtāt* is one of Rashnu's company at the Chinvat Bridge in Pahlavi literature. See Pavry, *op. cit.*, p. 85; Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 177.

<sup>211</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 112; C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

she is associated also with Vohu Manah, good mind, and Khratu, worldly wisdom (or Chisti, religious wisdom),<sup>212</sup> for peace can come only out of a peaceful attitude of mind and an intelligent (and religious) conviction about the futility of strife and discord.

The remaining personifications are connected with the Mazdayasnian religion itself in its twofold aspect of faith and practice. *Sraosha* (Srosh)<sup>213</sup> as a personified abstraction comes down from Gāthic times and is, as Dhalla remarks, "one of the few angels whose prominence increases with the lapse of time." He is Ahura's own, the personification of obedience to the Mazdayasnian law—"the priest-divinity who acts as an embodiment of the divine service" and prompts men to pay heed to the message of goodness. He is the Gabriel of the Zoroastrian religion and communicates to man Divine wishes and orders. His later development into an assessor of the deeds of men along with Mithra and Rashnu is foreshadowed in the Gāthās<sup>214</sup> and becomes complete in the Pahlavi period when he becomes the escort of the individual soul across the Chinvat Bridge. Special ceremonies<sup>215</sup> are performed in his honour during the first three days and nights after death, when the departed soul is to take the three fateful steps towards heaven or hell,<sup>216</sup> in order to secure his help at that time in warding off the demons and also later on at the seat of Judgment—in fact, a man may have the ceremonies in honour of Sraosha performed in his life-time (the Zindeh-

<sup>212</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 115; Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 63.

<sup>213</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, pp. 41, 101, 238; Modi, *Rel. Cer. and Cus. of the Parsis*, p. 434 f; also pp. 77-8; Pavry, *op. cit.*, p. 58; C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 179; Ys. 57; Yt. 11; Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 80. See esp. Madan, *op. cit.*, p. 34 f and esp. p. 54 (he thinks that Sraosha stands not for obedience but for knowledge or inspiration).

<sup>214</sup> Carnoy, in *ERE.* ix. 569, points out the resemblance between the Assyrian god Shamash, accompanied in his capacity as the god of law by two divinised abstractions—Kettu, 'justice,' and Mēsharu, 'rectitude,' and the Zoroastrian Mithra, accompanied by Rashnu, 'justice,' and Sraosha, 'discipline,' 'rectitude,' and also Auramazda of the Behistan inscription proceeding with justice and equity.

<sup>215</sup> See Modi, *Rel. Cer. and Cus. of the Parsis*, p. 436, for the Sraosha ceremonies; also Pavry, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 103-04.

<sup>216</sup> See Pavry, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

ravān ceremony) lest they should not be duly performed for some reason or other after his death.<sup>217</sup> Sraosha has not enjoyed sleep since the time when the two Spirits made the world, namely, the good Spirit and the evil One,<sup>218</sup> and with spells which form his very body (*tanumanthra*) and his weapons he fights the fiendish Druj and guards the world after sunset, against Aēshma who is iniquity incarnate (*peshotanus*) and other emissaries of evil who prevent men from performing their religious duties, by coming down thrice during the day and thrice during the night. But inasmuch as religion does not thrive on obedience alone, a second Yazata, *Chisti* (or *Chistā*),<sup>219</sup> personifies religious wisdom. She wears the white garment of purity or holiness and is invoked to bestow clearest vision. She is a companion of Rasanstāt, the angel of equity, presumably because profession of religion and upright dealing must go hand in hand; and also of *Daenā*, the genius of the Holy Mazdayasnian Law,<sup>220</sup> possibly because faith gives rise to knowledge, as the Bhagavad-gītā and St. Augustine have also affirmed. *Daenā* represents, however, not only the objective system of beliefs but also the religion as lived—the good or bad religious conscience or the reflection of the inner being of a departed soul.<sup>221</sup> It is this second meaning that becomes prominent in connection with eschatological speculations and *Daenā* is conceived as coming to greet a soul (either before or after the Judgment)<sup>222</sup> in the form of a lovely maiden in the case of a good man and in that of a hideous hag in the case of a wicked one.

Religion as a system of formulae and incantations gave rise to another set of personifications, the most important of

<sup>217</sup> Modi, *Rel. Cer. and Cus. of the Parsis*, p. 444 f; Pavry, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>218</sup> Yt. 11.2; Ys. 57.17.

<sup>219</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 101.

<sup>220</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 101; G. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 186; Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 82; Jackson, *Zor. St.*, p. 146, f.n. 8.

<sup>221</sup> Ys. 46.11. See Pavry, *op. cit.*, Chs. IV-VI, esp. p. 28.

<sup>222</sup> There is a difference of opinion about the exact time when the *Daenā* meets the soul.—See Pavry, *op. cit.*, pp. 37, 39, 44. The most wicked acts are burning the dead, idol-worship, causing oppression and cutting down trees. See Hadhokht Nask, 13, quoted by Pavry in *op. cit.*, p. 35 (with footnotes).

which was *Manthra* (or *Māthra*) *Spenta* (*Māhraspand*)<sup>223</sup> who was invoked with the Law of Zarathustra, the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda, and the long-traditional Teaching and Wisdom, both spiritual and secular. He is the lord of Holy Spells and specially prevails against the demons, whence he is the most potent help of a Mazdaean in distress. Did not Zarathustra himself smite Angra Mainyu with the *Ahuna Vairya*, "as strong a weapon as a stone big as a house?"<sup>224</sup> Is not a correct recitation of it with proper intonation worth the chanting of a hundred *Gāthās*?<sup>225</sup> The soul of Ahura Mazda is the *Māthra Spenta* which was pronounced by him before anything else was, and given to the Prophet in boundless time.<sup>226</sup> There are other spells too,<sup>227</sup> the most potent of them being the *Airyaman Ishya* (which smites all manners of disease and death, being associated with Airyaman who heals with holy spells),<sup>228</sup> the *Ashem Vohu* (which is associated with Asha and is so efficacious when uttered at the time of death)<sup>229</sup> and the *Yenghē Hātam* prayer.<sup>230</sup> The praises bes-

<sup>223</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 115; C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

<sup>224</sup> Yt. 17.20 describes Asha Vahishta (*Ashem Vohu*) as behaving like melting brass; Vend. 19.9 (the other weapons are the sacred mortar, the sacred cup and the Haoma). See also Bund. 1.8, about the progressive effect of the Honover on Angra Mainyu (SBE. V, p. 8). See also Modi, *Rel. Cer. and Cus. of the Parsis*, p. 341 f; Moulton, *Tr. Mag.*, p. 77; Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 173.

<sup>225</sup> Ys. 19.5. The 21 books (*nasks*) of the ancient Avestan literature are said to have corresponded to the 21 words of the *Ahuna* prayer.

<sup>226</sup> Ys. 19.3, 4; Vend. 19.9.

<sup>227</sup> For the holy prayers, see Visparad, 1. See SBE. IV, p. lxxviii; Haug, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

<sup>228</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 119. The prayer has been translated thus: "May the vow-fulfilling Airyaman come here, for the men and women of Zarathushtra to rejoice, for Vohumano to rejoice; with the desirable reward that Religion deserves. I solicit for holiness that boon that is vouchsafed by Ahura."—Darmesteter, quoted by Moulton in *Tr. Mag.*, p. 91, n.1. For Mills' translation, see SBE, XXXI, Ys. LIV, p. 293. See Yt. 3.5.

<sup>229</sup> Ys. 27.14. Modi, *Rel. Cer. and Cus. of the Parsis*, p. 348. The prayer has been translated thus: "Holiness is the best of all good. Well is it for it, well is it for that holiness which is perfection of holiness" (Moulton, *Tr. Mag.*, p. 91, n.2), or, "Piety is the best good and happiness. Happiness to him who is pious for the best piety" (Modi, *op. cit.*, p. 349).

<sup>230</sup> Ys. 4.26 (SBE, XXXI, p. 218). The prayer has been translated thus: "Ahura Mazda knows (lit., is the knower of), who among the living is the best in prayer through righteousness (i.e., says his prayer in the best way possible by observing *asha*, i.e., righteousness). We praise them (those recognised as above

towed on the different prayers and the recital of benefits to be derived from repeating them on different occasions and in different quantities<sup>231</sup> show that the Iranian religion ran dangerously near the view that magical efficacies pertain to the repetition of sacred texts; and even if it did not go to the length of the Brāhmaṇa position that the gods could be coerced into beneficence by suitable incantations, it did not fall far below the conception of automatic reward of sacred recitals and of the coercion of demons by magical formulae.<sup>232</sup> Apparently, it was felt difficult to limit personification to the sacred manthras alone, for in due time the different parts of the Avesta were offered sacrifices, especially the five Gāthās which came to be set over the five divisions of the day.<sup>233</sup> It does not appear that the system of "disciplinary and judicial injunctions" (*Dātem*) was personified;<sup>234</sup> but sacrifices were nevertheless offered to almost everything connected with the ritual order.<sup>235</sup> Thus, Benediction upon the righteous becomes the yazata *Dahmā Afriti* (*Dahmān Afrīn*)<sup>236</sup> and Malediction upon the unrighteous takes the form of the angel *Dāmoish Upamana*,<sup>237</sup> and, appropriately enough, the one comes in the shape of a camel while her counterpart takes the form of a ferocious boar.<sup>238</sup> Zoroastrianism included within its creed uncompromising hostility towards the wicked, the infidel and the apostate; hence "the redoubted and swift Curse of the wise" was a part of the Mazdayasnian religion.

by Ahura Mazda) whether male or female" (Modi, *Rel. Cer. and Cus. of the Parsis*, p. 349). See also Moulton, *Tr. Mag.*, p. 91, n.2; SBE. XXXI, p. 218 (Ys. 7.27).

<sup>231</sup> Modi, *Rel. Cer. and Cus. of the Parsis*, p. 340 f.

<sup>232</sup> G. F. Moore, *His. of Rel.*, I, pp. 390, 393.

<sup>233</sup> SBE, XXXI, p. 379 f (esp. p. 382—Gāh II.5). See Moulton, *Tr. Mag.*, p. 60. It has been suggested that the five Muslim daily prayers were taken over from the Persian practice of prayers at the five Gāhs.

<sup>234</sup> *Dātem* is often invoked but does not seem to be personified. See C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

<sup>235</sup> Gāh III.5.

<sup>236</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 118. For the various *Afrins*, see Modi, *Rel. Cer. and Cus. of the Parsis*, p. 387 f.

<sup>237</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 118.

<sup>238</sup> Vis, I.7; Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 118.

The later literature gives us not only an extended pantheon but also an extensive description of 'the legions of hell'<sup>239</sup> which it was the duty of the faithful to beware of and resist. Many of these are similar to Vedic malevolent spirits, but some Vedic gods also figure as demons in Iranian religion. Some of these evil spirits were genuine revivals from ancient superstitions and represented a class of objective beings—'malevolent powers and evil personages,' as Jackson calls them.<sup>240</sup> Some again were mythical monsters or impersonations of witchcraft or of the evil forces of nature that destroy the fruits of human labour or endanger human life and property. The Rivāyats give us some idea of the popular formulae of spell to withstand the hostile forces that threaten man's life and happiness from outside.<sup>241</sup> But the spiritual character of the Zoroastrian religion can be indirectly brought out by enumerating the evil spirits that were supposed to sap the foundations of religion in the inner being of the faithful themselves.<sup>242</sup> The most formidable demons belong to human nature itself. They are *Aka Manah*, vile thoughts, *Indra* (or *Andra*), apostasy, *Sauru* or *Saurva* (the Brāhmaṇic *Sarva*), misgovernment, anarchy and drunkenness, *Nāon-ghaithya* (Vedic *Nāsatya*),<sup>243</sup> later identified with *Taromaiti*, pride, presumption, disobedience, insubordination, contempt, heresy, and *Aēshma*, wrath, fury, rapine and outrage (especially in relation to cattle); also the falsely spoken word (*Draoga Mithaokhta*), malice, envy, jealousy (*Araska*), lust (*Vareno*), untimely sleep, lethargy, (*Bushyanstā*), stinginess, miserliness and hoarding (*Arāiti*, *Pūsh*), luxury (*Ari*), greed (*Āzi*), incredulity (*Ereshi*), lying, deceit, untruth (*Druj*, *Arāst*, *Daiwi Daeva*), slander and gossip (*Spazga*), revenge, spite

<sup>239</sup> Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, Ch. VI; Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, Chs. VI, XVIII, XXX; C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 199 f; Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 88 f.

<sup>240</sup> Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 103.

<sup>241</sup> See Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 309.

<sup>242</sup> See Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 85 f.

<sup>243</sup> The other two arch-demons are *Tauru* (or *Taurvi*) and *Zairicha*, who represent hunger and thirst (or demons that generate and apply poison to kill plants and animals)—the two potent bodily causes of religious inattention.



(*Kasvi Daeva*), beggary, poverty (*Driwi Daeva*), debauchery (*Jahi*), drunkenness (*Kunda*), murder (*Khru*, *Khrvighni*). discord (*Anākhshiti*), disobedience (*Asrushti*), and idolatry (*Khnanthaiti*). As Jackson remarks,<sup>244</sup> "Only the hosts of angels and the watchfulness of man hold in check the hordes of Ahriman, his demons and fiends. Any lapse from the path of righteousness, any act of wrongdoing or carelessness, any neglect of goodness or lack of attention to the prescribed mode of living places man in the power of some demon or of some other evil force which constantly lurks ready to take possession of him and to destroy his body and his soul." "This conception of life as a war with the demons," rightly observes G. F. Moore,<sup>245</sup> "gives its peculiar colour to the religion, morals and customs. In many particulars these resemble the lower religions in which self-defence against evil spirits is the principal feature; but the central theistic and ethical ideas give them a different significance." Much of the penitential and purificatory literature, however, owes its origin to the dread of being the victim of this or that demon.

Plutarch, in his list of Persian gods, mentions Ahura Mazdah, Mithra, the six gods (Amesha Spentas) originally created by Ahura Mazdah, Sirius (Tishtrya) and other stars, as also twenty-four other gods created subsequently by Ahura Mazdah—an enumeration which gives thirty-three gods,<sup>246</sup> a number familiar to us in Vedic literature. The method of invoking the several spirits bordered closely upon polytheism as the Amesha Spentas, the Yazatas and the Fravashis were directly approached for boons within their own jurisdiction. What, then, was the distinction between Vedic polytheism and Persian polytheism? We have already seen that, excepting a few rare lapses on the part of Indra, the Vedic gods always act together and the jealousy.

<sup>244</sup> Jackson, *Zor. Stu.*, p. 108. See Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 309, for the virtues ascribed to the incantations of Pazand and Persian *nirangs* (formulae of spell).

<sup>245</sup> G. F. Moore, *His. of Rel.*, I, p. 387.

<sup>246</sup> Omitting the other stars. For the quotation from Plutarch, see Haug, *Essays on the Religion of the Parsis*, p. 9 (Mithra is not specifically mentioned but Ahura Mazdah is supposed to have sprung out of the purest light). But see Yasna 1. where the thirty-three *ratus* or chiefs are mentioned (see Haug, *op. cit.*, p. 276).

rivalry and conflict of the gods are generally unknown in India till we come down to the time of the sectarian religions. The same was the case in Persian religion, for barring a casual complaint by this or that spirit that men are partial to other angels in the frequency of their worship, we do not hear of gods squabbling or fighting among themselves. There is, however, one important distinction between Hinduism and Parsism: Hinduism never succeeded in establishing a single supreme god like Ahura Mazda and hence different sects claimed different gods as supreme. Zervan Akarana is the only Being who ever contested seriously with Mazda for the headship of the Iranian pantheon, but it does not appear that he ever became for long a living force to the people at large.<sup>247</sup> The Yazatas whom Ahura Mazda is represented in the Yashts as worshipping were never meant to be regarded as occupying a position superior or even equal to that of Ahura Mazda, and none except Mithra, the god of the older Aryan solar cult, ever attained any important position even outside the Iranian church or set up a rival sect to that of Ahura Mazda. The writers had always the consciousness that in the last resort the angels and archangels were subordinate to and even creatures of Ahura Mazda, and in the same piece of composition would occur the expressions that Mazda (sometimes himself regarded as a Yazata) worships a particular Yazata and that he is the latter's creator or father; or that he is one of the Amesha Spentas and that he is their creator.<sup>248</sup> Brāhmanic India did evolve the idea of a unitary principle of existence, namely, Brahman, but this was conceived not in theistic but in pantheistic terms: and while India chose to be philosophical, not only in her Brāhmanism but also in her Jainism and Buddhism, Persia preferred to be religious. Being practically free, even in its later forms, from idolatry, Zoroastrianism did not turn the revived departmental deities into local gods of this or that city as was done by Egypt. Babylon

<sup>247</sup> See Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 12 f.

<sup>248</sup> See C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-6, 138, 147.

or even Greece. While probably local emphasis upon this or that aspect could not be entirely avoided, the religion was common to the whole population and there was a single body of scriptures, binding upon the entire religious community. It is only in *Dabistān*, a 17th century work composed in India, that we have as many as fourteen Zoroastrian sects mentioned;<sup>249</sup> but orthodox Parsis disavow the genuineness of their differences as also any distinction drawn by that work between exoteric and esoteric religion (the latter being really a mixture of Greek metaphysics through its Arabic version, Hindu Yoga and Persian Sūfism).<sup>250</sup>

What, in spite of the revival of nature worship, the religion of the later Avesta was, can be made out if we consult the catalogue of divine names which the pious Zoroastrian was taught to recite and meditate upon. In the Ormuzd Yasht occur two such lists, probably compiled at different times and then put together in one place, which prove that the multiplication of good spirits was never intended to detract from the majesty of Ahura Mazda.<sup>251</sup> The first list gives the following twenty names:—the One to be questioned, Herd-giver, the Strong One, Perfect Holiness (Asha Vahishta), All Mazda-made Asha-born Good, Understanding, the Understanding One, Intelligence, the Intelligent One, Holiness (Weal or Beneficence), the Holy One,<sup>252</sup> the Lord (Ahura), Mightiest, Beyond reach of enmity (He in whom there is no harm), the Unconquerable One, Mindful of desert, the All-seeing One, the Healer, the Creator, the Wise One (Mazdah). The second list is longer and the reader will at once notice how, as in the names of Allāh, a quality is reinforced by the use of stronger language. The names given are—Protector, Creator, Maintainer, Knower, Holiest Spirit (Beneficent

<sup>249</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 312.

<sup>250</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 316.

<sup>251</sup> See Moulton, *Tr. Mag.*, p. 95; also Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 21 f. Cf. Yasna 1.1. See Geiger, *op. cit.*, I, Int., xxv f.

<sup>252</sup> These three pairs declare that Holiness and Intelligence are not only the qualities but also the essence of God—the nearest approximation to the Vedāntic idea that Brahman is consciousness (qualified by the theistic idea of Zoroastrianism that God is also personal).

Spirit), Best Healer, Priest, Best Priest, the Lord (Ahura), Wise (Mazdah), Righteous (Holy), Most Righteous (Most Holy), Glorious, Most Glorious, Wide-seeing, Widest-seeing, Far-seeing, Farthest-seeing, Watcher (Keeper), Tracker (Well-wisher), Creator, Protector, Maintainer, Knower, Best Knower, Prosperity-producer (Cattle-owner), Word of Prosperity (Word of the Cattle-owner), Desiring Dominion (King who rules at his will), Most Desiring Dominion (King who rules most at his will), Mild of Dominion (Liberal King), Most Mild of Dominion (Most Liberal King), Who cannot deceive. Free from deceit (Who cannot be deceived), Keeper, Destroyer of malice, Conqueror at one stroke, All-conqueror, All-Creator (Shaper of everything), All-blessing (All-weal), Wide-blessing (Full Weal). Blessed (Master of Weal), Of mighty benefits (Who can benefit at his wish), Of mighty beneficence (Who can best benefit at his wish),<sup>253</sup> Powerful (Energetic), Most Powerful,<sup>254</sup> Holiness (Asha), the Great one (High), Dominant (Good Sovereign), Most Dominant (Best of Sovereigns), Of good insight (the Wise one), Of best insight (the Wisest of the wise), He who does good for a long time (Who sees afar). These names are declared to be the most fiend-smiting; even if we leave aside the magical aspect of their recitation, there can be no doubt that they sum up the most essential attributes of the Divine nature and will compare very favourably with the conception of God in any other advanced ethical monotheism, especially if we include under blessing and beneficence the active love of God for his own creation. The tradition lived on, for in the *Dīnkart* Ahura Mazda is described in an antithetical way in the following manner:<sup>255</sup>—“Sovereign, and not servant; father, and not child; prior, and not dependent; master, and not obedient; chief, and not having a chief; lord, and not subject to a master; protector, and not protected; immutable, and without

<sup>253</sup> 'Beneficent' and 'Most Beneficent' are repeated here.

<sup>254</sup> Moulton uses this in lieu of 'Most Beneficent.'

<sup>255</sup> Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 21. He misses in the list any attribute of immensity or infinity. In the *Bun-Dehesh* the infinity of God is expressly excluded (*Ibid.*, p. 25).

desires ; possessing in himself living knowledge, and not by any medium ; disposing, and not disposed ; distributing, but not receiving anything ; illuminating, and not illuminated ; co-operating but not receiving co-operation ;<sup>256</sup> co-acting and not subject to any co-action ; directing, and not directed." His creative activity is unconditionally affirmed : " He has created through his own essential power and knowledge six supreme Ameshospands and numerous Yazds, the most excellent paradise and the Gārôtmān, the vault of the sky, the burning sun, the shining moon and the stars of numerous germs, the wind and the atmosphere, the fire and the water, the earth and the plants, the animals, metals and man." <sup>257</sup> Nor is his moral government of the world forgotten. He protects and sustains his creation. He makes his existence and nature known to man through his visible creation as also through scriptural revelations. He and his angels assist the good creation and out of the evil introduced by Ahriman he can draw out good. He rewards virtue and punishes wickedness.<sup>258</sup> He harms no creature for he is beneficent by nature ; but Ahriman and his brood will have no mercy from him, and even if the Evil Spirit cannot be annihilated, his creation will be taken away from him and the Renovation will leave Ormazd in sole charge of all existing things.<sup>259</sup> The faithful are enjoined never to injure a righteous man : " Since the righteous man is a counterpart of Auharmazd the lord and when the righteous man acts it is caused by him who is Auharmazd, whoever propitiates the righteous man, his fame and welfare exist a long time in the world, and the splendour of Auharmazd and pleasure and joy become his own in heaven (vahišt)." <sup>260</sup>

<sup>256</sup> This attribute is striking in view of the later Avestan passages describing the help that the Yazatas and Fravashis render to Ahura Mazda.

<sup>257</sup> Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 30 ; see his summary on pp. 30-1.

<sup>258</sup> *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>259</sup> Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 64 f. The *Bun-Dehesh* contemplates the final non-existence of Ahriman while the *Dīnkart* believes in the immortality of Ahriman and thinks that though the demons would be destroyed and the wicked in hell purified and saved by the fire, Ahriman will continue to live, albeit totally powerless to harm the world of Ahura Mazda any more.

<sup>260</sup> *Shāyast Lā-Shāyast*, Ch. XV. 8 (SBE. V, p. 374).

Here our story of Zoroastrianism must abruptly end. Since the tragedy of exile from the father-land the Parsis have only preserved the mutilated wisdom of their saints and sages but have contributed practically nothing to the philosophical or theological development of their own faith or to the quickening of other faiths. They have also ceased now to convert aliens. The Iranian religion possesses literature in diverse tongues; but it does not appear that the attempts of Neryosangh Dhaval and others to establish a sacred Sanskrit literature for the exiles in India succeeded in evoking any considerable response.<sup>261</sup> The Parsis adopted Gujrati as their language and could not escape the influence of Hindu social customs and popular religious ideas altogether;<sup>262</sup> but their own influence on the contiguous Hindu religion has been surprisingly small. This phenomenon may be due either to the growing ignorance of the immigrants of their own religious literature—a literature which has become known with some degree of fulness only during the last 200 years, or it may be due to a kind of Jewish exclusiveness which the community has observed since its appearance on the Indian arena, or it may be due to the great religious and philosophical revival in India as a result of the active preaching of Vedānta doctrines by Śaṅkara (and later by Rāmānuja), or it may be due to the lack of that speculative thinking through which alone Hindu thought could be influenced. Not being at any time in political power and never attempting to thrust their language and belief upon the Hindus, the Parsis failed to quicken the religious thought of their neighbours as the Muslims did at a later time. But, although some of its religious practices are very similar to those of the Vedic form of religion, Parsism has succeeded in maintaining its integrity intact and resisted absorption by the more powerful and ex-

<sup>261</sup> The extant Parsi literature produced in this tongue comprises the translation into Sanskrit of the greater part of the Avestan Yasna, Khordak Avesta, and Aogemadaeche, based on their Pahlavi versions; also a Sanskrit translation of the Pahlavi works Menuk-i Khrat, Shikand Gumanik Vijar, and Arda Viraf Namah, and the Sanskrit version of the Pazand Ashirvad.—Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 306.

<sup>262</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 343.

tensive Hindu cult. Possibly, the tradition of hostility to the Daevas, the concentration of the entire population within a narrow area of India, and the prevention of a large influx of people of alien faiths into the community are responsible for the maintenance of the Parsi tradition; and the consciousness of possessing a revealed book in the communities concerned must also be taken into account when explaining why Hinduism, which had engulfed so many other religious and communities in the past, failed to absorb Parsism, Islām and Christianity. The appeal of Hindu pantheism, asceticism and occultism to Parsism has, however, not gone in vain; and it is only in recent years that a more intimate knowledge of the Avestan literature has prompted a reform movement pledged to weed out unsuitable accretions to the Zoroastrian faith.<sup>263</sup> The religion of the Prophet is now being interpreted on strictly monotheistic lines and allegorical interpretation is being put on inconvenient passages bearing on belief and conduct. A religion with a great past, a religion from which even Judaism<sup>264</sup> (and through it Christianity) and Islām<sup>265</sup> did not disdain to borrow materials, can have greater vitality infused into it if its adherents would only learn that a good religion, like light, is meant to be diffused and also that there is no virtue in clinging fast to cults and superstitions that go radically against the spiritual words which the Prophet claimed to have heard from God Himself.<sup>266</sup>

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<sup>263</sup> Dhalla, *Zor. Th.*, p. 396.

<sup>264</sup> There is a tendency among Christian writers to deny this in spite of convenient parallels. See *Dic. Bib.*, IV, p. 988 f, art. ZOROASTRIANISM (by Moulton). The influences are on compositions (like the Book of Tobit, the Book of Esther and the Wisdom Literature), the relation between star and fravashi (Mt.2), resurrection, eschatology, apocalyptic, angelology (including the theory of the genii), demonology, the practices of the Essenes, etc.

<sup>265</sup> For the influence of Parsism on Islām, see Goldziher's paper on the subject and the translator's note thereon in G. K. Nariman's *Persia and Parsis*, Part I, pp. 39-74 (also in Tiele, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-186).

<sup>266</sup> For justification of this persistence, see Madan, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

